PHARISAISM and JESUS

by

Samuel Umen

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To
the loving memory
of
Harry and Jennie Markson
and
Alfred and Francis Markson

PREFACE

It is the fervent hope of the writer that this dissertation may shed a little more light on two great subjects which deserve the attention of both Jew and Christian.

A better understanding of each, would lead to a happier and better relation between the professors of Judaism and Christianity.

Pharisaism and Jesus have much more in common than is often supposed. As a matter of fact, Pharisaism is really responsible for the teachings of Jesus and for the emergence of Christianity.

Jesus cannot be fully appreciated without a full understanding of Pharisaism, and the Pharisaic spirit cannot be grasped by the few uncomplimentary references made against it in the New Testament.

S. U.

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INTRODUCTION

As long as the books of the New Testament are being read, there will always be an interest, not only in the person of Jesus, but also in the background against which he has to be seen. The study of this background is one which increases in complexity the more material is brought to light by modern scholarship. The result is that, frightened by the maze of details, many a layman fears to rush in where even scholars dare to tread with only the greatest of circumspection. The merit of Rabbi Samuel Umen's work lies in the fact of his having summarized, in intelligible language, some of the conclusions reached by 19th-century scholarship. Though these conclusions are far from representing the last word yet to be spoken on the subject of Pharisaism and Jesus, an acquaintance with them is bound to increase the layman's understanding of what scholarship continues to reveal about both the New Testament and the Rabbinic Literature. May this book help to whet the appetite of Christian and Jew for an ever increasing appreciation of each other's religious heritage.

JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI
Associate Professor of Rabbinics
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Cincinnati, Ohio, May 17th, 1962.

> Salvation is attained not by subscription to metaphysical dogmas, but solely by love of God that fulfils itself in action. This is a cardinal truth in Judaism. Chasdai Crescas

PHARISAISM

The Torah and the Jewish people are one. One without the other is inconceivable-even as Christendom is inconceivable without Christ. The Jews are a distinct people by virtue of the Torah and it is the Torah that is mainly responsible for the survival of the Jewish people. But the Torah is an ancient document, containing on the whole laws, lessons and precepts, intended for a very early period of Jewish history. By what power, what magic then did this instrument of antiquity manage to remain the guiding influence of the Jew through the ages and to this day? In other words, if the Torah is credited with preserving the Jew, what has preserved the Torah? The logical answer to this question is of course—the Jewish people. By clinging to the Torah the Jewish people have therefore preserved it. But why would a people honor teachings that had no appeal for them, which were not related to their lives? It is unlikely that sheer sentimentality could have preserved the Torah. The answer seems to lie elsewhere.

To know how the Torah was preserved and why its influence over the Jews never ceased, requires some knowledge of the Pharisaic period—an understanding of the work of the Pharisees. For it was during that period, and through the genius and spirit of the Pharisees that the Torah was rescued for the future.

Now who were the Pharisees and what did they do with the Torah that the Jews throughout their long history could make its teachings their way of life, be inspired by its

commandments and utter the words: "For they are our life and the length of our days. Day and night we will meditate upon them."?

Pharisaism as an organized movement is traceable to the Maccabean period but the spirit of Pharisaism is as old as the Jewish people. Pharisaism is an attempt to make religion the dominant factor in the daily life of a human being and in society as a whole. It represents spiritual growth; it symbolizes ethical and moral progress; it defines Judaism; it is the key to the Jewish soul.

By virtue of Pharisaism, Judaism was never allowed to lag behind the times, become a relic, a dead letter.

The Pharisaic spirit is evident in the ethical and moral laws of Moses; it is manifested in the democratic, universal teachings of the prophets; it is reflected in the liberal rabbinic lore and in the wisdom of the Jewish philosophers.

Pharisaism is at work in every period of Jewish history, in every phase of Jewish thought and life; its paramount concern is to pursue truth and promote the spiritual welfare of man. Every attempt ever made to thwart the progressive dynamic spirit of Pharisaism from within or from without was destined to fail.

The Word Pharisee

The word "Pharisee" is derived from the Greek translation of the Hebrew word PARUSH or the Aramaic PERISHAYA—which means "separated." Under what circumstances this name was coined, and from what and from whom the people bearing this name separated themselves remains conjectural.

In the Biblical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is told that those who returned from the Babylonian Exile, "had separated themselves from the filthiness of the nations of the land" (Ezra 6:21). Due to this act it was believed the name

"Pharisee"—"separated"—was attached to the people who separated themselves from their surrounding neighbours.

In the Books of the Maccabees, which depict the struggle between Hebraism and Hellenism, it is reported, how the "devout" separated themselves from those whose Judaism was less strict thus the appellation of "Pharisees" was bestowed upon them.

Kohler (in his article in the J. E. lx, 661A) explains the name as meaning "one who separates himself, or keeps away from persons or things impure, in order to attain the degree of holiness and righteousness required in those who would commune with God." He cites in support of this explanation the term PERISHUTH, which means "abstinence" or pious self-restraint. But, on the face of it, this meaning has all the appearance of being secondary, and it is to be noted that the Rabbinical literature itself uses the term PERUSHIN in the sense of "seceders." Another and most ingenious explanation is that proposed by Leszynsky in his work on the Sadducees (PHARISAER UND SADDUZAER). Leszynsky urges that the Pharisees were in no sense a "separatist" party, as is commonly assumed, but arose from the ranks of the people as the champions of popular religious custom. So far from separating themselves from ordinary life and affairs, they flung themselves with fierce energy into these. Against them were arrayed the Sadducees, opposing to their oral tradition the written Torah. The opposition, of course, affected only certain specific points, but on these the Pharisees did not hesitate to exalt their own tradition, even when this was in apparent conflict with the written word of the Law. Leszynsky explains the name "Pharisee" as connoting originally "expounder" or "interpreter" rather than "separatist." (The term is constantly used in the Rabbinical literature in the sense of "explain" or "make explicit"). It is supposed that the party came to be called "expounders" or "interpreters"

(PERUSHIM) as the result of a long dispute. For a long time controversy raged within the Pharisaic party on the issue whether the oral tradition should be adjusted to, and find its justification in, the written Law. At first the section of the Pharisees opposed to this policy triumphed; but after the time of Simeon ben Shetah (flourished before and after 78 B.C.) the policy of linking up the oral tradition with Scripture prevailed. Leszynsky finds support for this view in an obscure passage of the Mishnah (hag.ii,2) which he explains in an ingenious manner of his own. The name "Pharisee," according to the view, means "interpreter" (of Scripture) in the interests of the oral traditional Law. It did not originally denote the whole party who championed the oral Law, but only a section of it. Their original name was "Hasidim" but in time, the name "Pharisees" naturally attached itself to the whole party.

Pharisaism as a Characteristic

Pharisaism to be viewed correctly must be sensed as a characteristic of Judaism—of the Jewish people, rather than seen as a movement. The Pharisaic movement could not have evolved without the spirit—the character of Pharisaism. The Pharisaic character, is not an appendage to Judaism; it is not something that attached itself to it; it is not a quality which the Jews adopted at some point in their history, culivated it, and made it their own. Pharisaism is Judaism; it is its dominant quality.

It is true, that Pharisaism does not manifest itself as clearly in the early beginnings of Jewish history as it does during the Second Commonwealth, particularly during the Maccabean period. But it is well to remember that a people's character does not reveal itself in all its fulness at one time and at all times. Character shows itself in parts. Characteristics respond to external conditions. Since conditions vary,

different aspects of a people's make-up come to the foreground. Each characteristic is a response to a given situation. Love, for example, calls forth the response of love. Similarly, hate is answered by hate.

Now, when and how, does Pharisaism begin to express itself in the Jewish community in ancient times as a distinct trait of the Jewish people and as a tendency of Judaism?

The Pharisaic tendency comes into focus during the time of the Babylonian Exile. It is here that the Jewish community's survival as a separate people is challenged. The National God of the Jews was left behind them. Their Holy Temple was destroyed. They found themselves on strange soil among strangers. How they felt is reflected in the words of the Psalmist:

> "By the waters of Babylon,
> there we sat down and wept,
> when we remembered Zion.
> On the willows there
> we hung up our lyres.
> For there our captors
> required of us songs
> and our tormentors, mirth, saying
> 'Sing us one of the songs of
> Zion!' " (Ps. 137).

Babylonian Civilization, was in many respects superior to what the Jews left behind them. Why were they depressed? While Babylonia had much to offer to the Jewish people it offered no substitute for their God, their holy land, and their religious life which was precious to them, which united them as a people and which gave them common goals. These factors were now missing in their lives. To carry on and survive without these, was a challenge to them. They met the challenge and they survived. They lived to

return to their land and rebuild their Holy Sanctuary. What mysterious, magical force, sustained their hope and saved them?

It is at this juncture that Pharisaism came to their rescue. Pharisaism stands for adjustment, for progress, for intellectualism. In this trying period the Jews were called upon to rethink and re-evaluate their God concept, their mode of worship, their whole approach to their God, their religion, and their life. Here they devoted themselves to study; and in studying they found not only renewed hope, but an appreciation of the Torah the like of which they never had.

From the idea of a National God, they advanced to the idea of a Universal God. Their God who heretofore could be reached by their intermediaries the priests, now became their personal God to whom they could open their hearts. As a substitute for the sacrifices offered in their behalf by the priests in the holy Temple, they introduced—prayer.

"Here," says Leo Baeck, "for the first time in history a religious congregation was formed; here was a community lacking an ancestral ground, lacking the support of a state, separated from what constituted elsewhere, and heretofore for itself as well, the natural conditions of community life; a community placed in the midst of a different and wondrous world, and yet filled with the living certainty of the need to remain independent. Here, for the first time, people outside their own country constituted themselves a community in the name of religion."

The Jewish community which returned from Babylonian Exile to Palestine in 537 B.C., was much more sophisticated than it was at the beginning of the Exile.

Strange as it may seem, the Exiles learned more about the Torah in Babylonia than on their own soil. What was formerly regarded by them as a Book only for the priest to master and to be used by him for instructing the people, they now adopted through personal study as their Book, the Book

for the people. Realizing the value of its teachings, they determined that its lessons shall be transmitted to their children and children's children. Their desire to disseminate the knowledge of the Torah, created the need for copies of the Torah and teachers to teach it. This need in turn gave rise to a new type of leader in their midst—the "Sofer," "the Scribe." The beginning of the "Sofer" marks the beginning of the end of an epoch in Jewish history.

While the returned Exiles rebuilt the Holy Temple—reinstituted the sacrificial rites, and the priest reassumed leadership once again, somehow the people's attitude to these institutions was no longer the same. Their interest was now more centered on the Book than on sacrifices, on the "Scribe"—the teacher, more than on the priest, on personal prayer, rather than on oblations. New ideas were pushing forward. New interests were developing, a revolution was in the making. The people were on the march.

How this revolution was developing is best exemplified by the work of the "Sofer"—"the scribe" the first of whom was Ezra.

The Work of Ezra and the Soferim

The original meaning of the Hebrew word "Soferim" ("Scribes") was people who knew how to write but as the art of writing was known only to the intelligent, the term "scribe" became synonymous with "wise man." Later, in the time of Ezra, the designation was applied to the body of teachers who, interpreted the Law to the people.

Of Ezra the first of the interpreters of the Torah, it is said (Ezra 7:10) that "he had set his heart to 'seek' the law of the Lord and to do it and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." The word 'seek' ('Darash') does not represent what Ezra had set his heart to do. 'Darash' in this connection, when its object is the Torah is not to 'seek' but to interpret. Ezra was the first of those who made it their busi-

ness to 'interpret' the Torah; and he did so for the purpose of "teaching in Israel statutes and judgments."

The activity of the scribes was manifold. Their main object however, was to teach the Torah to the Jewish masses and the Jewish youth in particular. It was they who established schools and made it their task to "raise many disciples."

How did the Soferim discharge their task of teaching? How did they proceed to reach the people? After all, copies of the Torah were not available to all. The only possible way of reaching the people, whether as a whole or individually was by oral address. The people to be taught were those who would be least able to read, and least likely to read, if there had been copies of the Book available to them. While the Soferim did multiply copies of the Torah, these, however, were for the use of those whose duty it was to teach it.

As another step in popular education, the Soferim changed the ancient Hebrew script for the Assyrian square script, which was henceforth used in transcribing the sacred Scriptures and ultimately became the only script known to the Jews. This change was an important literary step, as the Jews after their return from Exile were scarcely acquainted with the ancient script, and the adoption of the more familiar one facilitated the study of the Holy Law.

Another achievement attributed to the Soferim, was the closing of the Canon of the Old Testament. This means that, it was they who decided which of the books current in their times should or should not be incorporated among the Books which finally constituted the Old Testament.

The closing of the Canon, it must be imagined of course, did not take place at once but was rather a protracted process, the final step of which took place the second half of the third century B.C., though it is not improbable that some additions were inserted later.

The Soferim have also arranged and standardized the earliest form of the liturgy, which served as a basis for the Traditional Prayer Book. While the activities of the Soferim were many and varied, their chief purpose and task was that of teaching and interpreting the Torah. This activity it was which saved the Torah from becoming a dead letter.

Method of the Soferim—In Interpreting the Torah

In teaching and expounding the Laws, the Soferim discovered that a gulf existed in many instances between the law as stated in the Torah and life as it was lived. This they set out to correct by interpreting the Law and bringing it up to date.

We know of two methods that were used in interpreting the Torah. The first method, that which the Soferim pursued is called the Midrash-form. The teachers who succeeded the Soferim introduced another method, called the Mishnah-form which came later, however, it did not entirely eliminate the earlier form. A word about each method and the motives for the use of each is in place. Midrash-Torah—represents the Halakah or law as an interpretation and exposition of the Torah. It gives the law together with the Scriptural text from which it is derived. The other form, the Mishnah, represents the Halakah independent of Scripture. In other words, the Mishnah-form does not resort to Scripture as the source for the law which it represents.

Of these two forms of teaching Halakah, the Midrash is the older form and the one that was used by the Soferim. The Soferim used this form, because as stated above, they were the teachers of the Torah—its expounders and interpreters. And the people during the time of the Soferim were under no obligation to follow any other law except that which was stipulated in the Written Law or by interpretation was based upon it. The returned Babylonian Exiles, accepted the

Torah as its constitution. They pledged to keep and follow the laws of Moses as contained in the Book. Whatever was not stipulated in the Book, they were not bound to honor.

All such religious practices and time honored customs which were not stipulated in the Book, were recognized as implied in the fuller meaning of the Written Law.

The Soferim never employed any other method of teaching than the Midrash-form. They were designated as Soferim because they occupied themselves with the "Book" and because they taught from the "Book," and interpreted its contents. One more word needs to be said about the Soferim. From the first Sofer, Ezra, to the last, Simon the Just (270 B.C.E.), they were all priests. They were the recognized custodians of the Law who received their authority to teach and explain the Torah from the Torah itself. From them alone one could seek instruction in the Torah. The priests therefore, were the actual leaders of the community—since they alone were recognized by the Law as its official teachers and competent interpreters.

"And thou shalt come to the priests and Levites and the judge which shall be in those days, and thou shalt inquire, and they shall declare to thee the word of judgment. And thou shalt do according to the word which they shall declare to thee from that place which Yahweh shall choose, and thou shalt observe to do according to all which they shall teach thee. According to the Torah which they shall teach thee, and the judgment which they shall say to thee thou shalt do; thou shalt not turn aside from the word which they shall declare to thee to the right hand or to the left" (Deut. 17-9:11).

The Soferim, were succeeded by a new type of teacher. One who did not limit himself to the use of the Midrash exclusively. With this new teacher, another form of teaching Torah was innovated. It is called the Mishnah. The Mishnah-form as stated above, is a method of teaching Halakah (Law) without basing it on Scripture. It is interesting to

learn what conditions necessitated the new method of teaching.

The change from Persian to Greek rule, brought changes in the life of the Jewish community. Over a period of a half a century, the people acquired new ideas and became familiar with views of life other than those which they had been taught by their teachers in the name of the law of their fathers. The rich and influential classes accepted Greek ideas and followed Greek customs. The changed conditions brought forth new questions for which decisions could not be found in the interpretations of the Soferim. Many new customs for which there were no precedents in the traditions of the fathers and not the slightest indication in the Book of the Law, were observed by the people and considered by them as a part of their religious laws. A harmonization of the practices and views of the times with authentic religious life, was a compelling need. To do so, a new method of teaching and of making laws had to be used. But before any of the new views and practices of the people could be incorporated into the orbit of Jewish life and be declared as the views of the people and not of foreign influence—some justification had to be found.

The justification was found through the process of reasoning and this is how the teachers of the day reasoned: In the opinion of the teachers, the origin of these laws and customs was Jewish. It is hardly possible they argued, that foreign customs and non-Jewish laws should have met with such universal acceptance. The origin of these they therefore believed must have been Jewish. The total absence of objection on the part of the people to such customs vouched for their Jewish origin, in the opinion of the teachers. Accordingly, the teachers themselves came to believe that such generally recognized laws and practices must have been old traditional laws and practices accepted by the fathers and transmitted to following generations in addition to the Written Law. Such a belief would naturally free the teachers

from the necessity of finding Scriptural proof for all the new practices. They could teach them as traditional Halakot (laws) not dependent upon the Written Law.

"As soon as Tradition was raised to the rank of the Law and thus recognized as an independent authority parallel to the Written Law," says Lauterbach, "there was no longer that urgent need of connecting each and every Halakah with the words of the written Law in the form of the Midrash. A halakic decision based on a tradition was now considered by the teachers, and represented by them, to be just as authoritative as one derived from the written Torah by means of an interpretation or Midrash. The Halakah as traditional Law could now stand without the support of a Scriptural basis, and could therefore be taught independently in the Mishnah-form. Not only was there no more need for teaching all the Halakot together with the Written Law in the Midrash-form, but there were also sufficient reasons for the Pharisaic teachers to teach Halakah as traditional Law without even attempting to connect the same with the Written Law. For, in so doing, they emphasized their belief in the twin-law that is, the belief that there were two equal sources of religious teaching, one the written Torah and the other the unwritten Oral Law, both of which must be studied alike, and that one is as important as the other."

Pharisaism as a Movement

The work of the Soferim did not end with them. They merely laid the ground work for a structure which was to be continued after them as continued it was. Their teaching and interpreting the Torah, resulted in two singular accomplishments. First, they paved the way for others to follow them, and secondly, they succeeded in popularizing the Torah to such a degree that it actually became the people's Book.

Since the Torah became the people's Book—the Law by

which the people were to shape and guide their lives, the question then arose whether the future teaching of the Book was to be left only to the priest as in the past, or qualified lay people could teach and interpret it as well? This question was answered not by the priests but by the lay people and in their own favor. Lay teachers, therefore, began to supplant the priest. The claim of the lay-teachers who represented the masses was that the Law was the heritage of the entire house of Jacob, the common possession of all the people, and that the priests had no monopoly in it. Aside from certain functions in the Temple, the priests, the lay-teachers, claimed, were in no way better or more privileged and had no more rights than the rest of the people. Both priest teacher, and Israelite teacher, could speak in the name of the Law and represent its authority. From the Torah itself—the people learned that they were all meant to be "A Kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19-6) and that "the Torah which Moses commanded was intended to be the inheritance of the entire congregation of Jacob" (Deut. 33.4) and not the exclusive possession of the priests one privileged class.

Due to the strong desire of the priests for material influence, for power, and for the maintenance of their own special privileges, they therefore, protested vehemently against the Law becoming the common possession of the people as proposed by the non-priestly teachers.

This of course did not make for a good relationship between the lay-teachers and the priests. The priests were irritated even more when the lay-teachers declared that all Tradition, that is laws and practices not derived from, or predicated on Scripture, were equal in importance to that which Scripture prescribed.

This difference of opinion between the lay-teachers who had the support of the masses, and the priests, led to a break between them. The two approaches to Scripture and Tradition gave rise to two separate groups in the Jewish com-

munity. The "wise men" and their followers came to be known as "the Pharisees." The priests came to be known as Sadducees. Before too long, the rift between the two parties deepened and widened. The controversies between them grew stronger. Their differences multiplied on many an issue.

A Word on Tradition (Unwritten Law)

In all religions which profess to be wholly and solely based on a revelation, fixed and final in certain books, tradition is necessarily called in to interpret and supplement the scriptures. In Mohammedanism an oral tradition is therefore traced back through an unbroken line to the companions of the Prophet, witnesses of his words and example. In Christianity the record of the words and deeds of Jesus in the Gospels was ascribed to the Apostles immediately or through disciples under their direction; the Apostles were the inspired authors of the other books which, with the Gospels, constitute the Scriptures of the new dispensation. Apostolic tradition was the formative and normative principle of the ancient catholic church in organization, worship, doctrine, and discipline. A long series of writings, from the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles early in the second century to the eight books of the Apostolic Constitutions with the appended Canons in the fourth, bear witness to the strength of the feeling that whatever is Christian ought to be apostolic. The symbol called the Apostles' Creed was early imagined to have been framed by the Apostles in a kind of symposium, each of them contributing an article. The theory of apostolic tradition is still held unchanged by the great body of Christian churches, East and West. It was uncompromisingly affirmed by the Council of Trent against the contention of the Reformers that the Scriptures alone had divine authority; and the dogma of papal infallibility definied at the Vatican Council in 1870 is declared to be in

accord with a tradition which has been received from the beginning of the Christian faith.

To the Jews, inasmuch as the Written Law took into its province all spheres of life, the Unwritten Law, dealing with the same subjects and often defining how the former should be carried out or enforced, was equally of religious obligation. And since religion with all its duties and observances was revealed by God, the revelation necessarily included the Unwritten as well as the Written Law. The Written Law, was all revealed to Moses, and it was a very natural inference that its inseparable complement the Unwritten Law, which shared the immutability of all revelation, was revealed to him at the same time.

The actual content of Jewish tradition was of diverse origin. Part of it was long established custom for which the teachers might seek an explicit or implicit Scriptural warrant, or, failing that, fall back on the half-conscious fiction of a Mosaic rule from Sinai. But an important part consisted, as they were well aware, of regulations or prohibitions issued and imposed by those in whom at different times such virtually legislative authority was vested. Enactments of this kind, whether proceeding from an individual or a corporate body, are called 'decrees' (gezerot) or 'enactments' (takkanot).

There are numerous rabbinical enactments from all periods which are more or less directly at variance with the plain letter of the Law. Among the most noteworthy was the legal fiction called "Prozbul" devised by Hillel.

The law of Deut. 15, 1-3 by which all loans were cancelled at the beginning of every seventh year worked as, in human nature, such a utopian economic experiment might be expected to work. Not withstanding the pathos of the exhortation in verses 7-11, and no matter what the distress of the borrower might be, money lenders could not be induced to make a loan in the fifth or sixth year which would automatically become a donation in the seventh. Like much

equally well-meant legislation in later times, the effect of the law was the diametrical opposite of its intent. Hillel's remedy was the execution in court of an instrument, attested by the seals of the judges or witnesses, by which the lender retained the right to reclaim the loan at any time he saw fit.

The law in Deut. 24, 1-4, on the remarriage of a divorced woman, presumes that a legal divorce demands a certificate of repudiation (Sefer Keritut) given to the woman by the man as evidence that she was free to marry again. There is however no law prescribing such a writing nor any direction concerning its form, though as a legal instrument, it must be supposed that a certain form and probably also the proper witnessing of the instrument, were necessary to its regularity if not to its validity, since in such matters ancient law was as insistent as modern on formal correctness.

In many other things enjoined in the religious law, such as the payment of the taxes for the support of the priesthood and other ministers of worship, the obligatory offerings, the observance of the holy days, the mode of fulfillment must have followed custom which had the force of law, and when defined became tradition.

The prohibitions of labor on the Sabbath in the Pentateuch are as general and indefinite as they are emphatic. The prophets are more explicit. Amos condemns trading on that day (8,5), Jeremiah the bearing of burdens on the Sabbath day and carrying them into the city or out of houses (17, 21-24; cf. Neh 10, 32), thus giving testimony to the antiquity of some of the most important principles of Jewish Sabbath observance. But nowhere in the Old Testament is there such a definition of the works which are forbidden on the Sabbath that a man could know in all cases whether the thing he was doing was permissible or prohibited. The necessity of definition in this case was peculiarly great because of the severity of the penalties in the Pentateuch against the profanation of the day. The regulations which we find in the Mishnah are in part the formulation of cus-

tom, in part of exegetical study of the Scriptures, in part of juristic casuistry; but upon the premises of revealed religion such things cannot be too exact or too minute.

Thus in every sphere there always existed beside the Written Law a much more extensive and comprehensive body of Unwritten Law, which grew out of the needs of the times and changed with them.

The Unwritten Law, was in no wise inferior to the law written in the Pentateuch, both were considered as God's revealed will.

As in other religions, where the Unwritten Law is raised to the equal rank with Scripture, Tradition as the living word, interpreting, supplementing, adapting, applying, the written word, asserts its superior authority, and its claims are wont to be more strongly expressed if its authority is questioned either in general or on a particular point. So it was in Judaism. Thus it is declared: "A more serious matter is made of the words of the scribes than of the words of the (written) Law."

The whole revelation of God was not comprised in the sacred books. In addition to the Scriptures, there had always been an unwritten tradition, which served partly in interpreting and applying the Written Law, and partly supplementing it.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PHARISEES AND THE SADDUCEES

The Pharisaic View Of Torah and Tradition

Both the Pharisees and the Sadducees respected the Torah. Both parties respected Tradition. The respect of each for the Torah and Tradition, however, was motivated by different reasons and it was this difference in motivation that caused the break between them.

The Pharisees respected the Torah out of love. God in His loving-kindness, gave it to them. "It is a law of truth and righteousness." By this law they were to shape their lives, find meaning and purpose for their existence. It was intended for them, future generations, and through them for all nations. It is a Law for their age and all ages. The Torah is the Word of God; it is the voice of God speaking to His children on every aspect of their lives. It was the sole authority for regulating their lives. Of course not everything in it is clear on the surface, not all is readily understood. Nevertheless, it is all inclusive. All is expressed in it. Through careful study one would find in it what a literal reading of it failed to reveal. "Turn it and turn it for all is in it." And because all was in it, its message therefore, was forever fresh, always timely. God's word could never be outmoded, outdated. It was applicable to every new condition, every new situation. As the Psalmist has it,

"The law of the Lord is perfect,
reviving the soul;
the testimony of the Lord is sure,
making wise the simple;
the precepts of the Lord are right,
rejoicing the heart;
the commandment of the Lord is pure
enlightening the eyes;
the fear of the Lord is clean,
enduring for ever;
the ordinances of the Lord are true,
and righteous altogether
More to be desired are they than
gold
even much fine gold;
sweeter also than honey
and drippings of the honeycomb.
Moreover by them is thy servant
warned;
in keeping them there is great reward" (Psalm 19:7-11).

The Pharisees defined the term Torah in its broadest sense. It meant for them, study, teaching, and interpreting God's precepts as given in the Five Books of Moses, in the ethical teachings of the Prophets, in the poetry of the psalmists and in the commentaries of the sages. The Torah was their sole authority—and besides it, there was no other Law to live by, to be influenced by, to command their allegiance. For the Torah they were ever ready to die. They refused to separate Tradition from the Torah. Both were one. Both emanated from the same source, the same Author.

The Sadducean Conception Of Torah And Tradition

Neither the Written Law nor Tradition meant the same to the Sadducees as it did to the Pharisees. From the stress

laid by the Sadducees on the Written Law, it would appear that their understanding, and appreciation of the Torah was far greater than that of the Pharisees. In reality however, their concept of the Torah was much narrower. They sought to preserve the Written word not on account of its intrinsic value and not out of love for God's will but out of fear. For they remembered the oath the returned Babylonian Exiles took to keep the Torah, as they heard it read to them by their leader Ezra in 444 B.C.

We read in Neh. (10.1, 29-30) as follows: "And yet for all this we make a sure covenant and subscribe it; and our princes, our Levites, and our priests, set their seal unto it . . . And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites . . . they cleaved to their brethren, their nobles and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord, our Lord, and His ordinances and His statutes."

What the Sadducees were concerned about primarily was the oath, the pledge to observe the Torah and not what the Torah itself had to offer. Even if the Torah proved to be an outmoded document with no relationship to life, it still had to be kept—because of the oath. And the oath applied not only to those who took it, but also to future generations and for all time.

According to ancient belief the best way to enforce obedience to the Law, especially to bind future generations to keep it, was to impose a curse upon its transgressors. For an oath was regarded as eternally binding; its violation bringing the curse as a necessary consequence. Thus the oath imposed by Joseph upon his brothers to take his remains along with them was considered as binding upon their descendants (Gen. 50.25; Ex. 13.19). And the curse imposed by Joshua upon any one who would rebuild Jericho (Josh. 6.26) is said to have had its effect after many generations (I Kings 16.34). For this reason the covenant could be made

even with those not present on that day and was considered as binding upon the children forever (Deut. 29.13, 14 and 28). Again in Dan. 9.11 the idea is expressed, that as a necessary result of their transgression of the Law the stipulated curse had to come and was poured out upon the people of Israel.

In as much as the people in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah accepted the Law only with reluctance, the oath and the curse were necessary to compel them to accept the Law and to secure obedience to it by future generations. It was, however, natural that, as a result of this process of forcing the Law upon the people by means of the oath and the curse, the tendency developed among the people as well as among the priests, on the one hand, to be very strict and rigorous in keeping the Law, in order to prevent the possible evil effect of violating the oath, i.e., the stipulated curse, and on the other hand, not to keep more than was absolutely necessary to accomplish this end, i.e., to comply with the oath. This attitude towards the Law, based on a superstitious belief, in the necessarily evil effect of the curse, was originally common to almost all the people. It was an old belief which the Sadducees still retained. That this was an old belief, firmly rooted in the minds of the people, is evident from the fact that even the Pharisees who opposed the older attitude towards the Law, and tried to base the Law's authority upon its being the Divine Command and not on the promise or the oath with which the people had pledged themselves to keep it, even they could not entirely free themselves from this old superstitious belief. Many sayings in Talmudic literature give expression to this old superstitious belief and show that even in the minds of the later Talmudic teachers the binding authority of the Law was associated with the binding force of the oath with which it had been accepted.

The matter of tradition was the great bone of contention between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. From the Pharisaic

point of view, Torah and Tradition were one and the same thing. Tradition, according to the Pharisees was Torah, derived from the Torah and was part of the Torah. It was imparted to the people by Moses, at the same time when he gave them the Written Torah. The Pharisees realized that the Torah without Tradition as its counterpart, would become a dead letter. The Pharisees therefore regarded Tradition as the very life blood of the Torah.

The Sadducees on the other hand, separated Tradition or the Oral Law from the Written. While the Sadducees saw some need for tradition, they refused, however, to accept the notion that it was equal to the Written Law, and this is probably what Josephus meant when he said that the Sadducees rejected the unwritten laws saying: "We are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers" (Ant. 23, 10-6), that is we are not absolutely obliged to observe them as we are obliged to observe the Written Laws.

The Sadducees justified their attitude toward Tradition for the following reasons: First, because the oath which the people took to keep the Torah, did not include anything else but the Written Law, and secondly, by yielding to the Pharisaic view of tradition, it would have meant that the authority of the Sadducees as the recognized teachers of the Torah, had come to an end—and that a new authority had taken over the teaching and the interpreting of the Law. Yet, the Sadducees do not appear to have denied the Oral Law completely. On many occasions as, for instance, on most matters relating to Temple ritual, they would seem to have accepted its dictates. Their objection would appear in large measure as a cover for the attempt to wrest from the Rabbis the authority with which the Law invested them. The verdict of history has been on the side of the Pharisees, who formed a vital link in the handing down of Jewish Tradition as we know it.

Religion in its purest and truest sense, is the antithesis of reason. The genuine believer needs no reasons for his belief. As soon as he begins to give the motives for his belief, he is no longer a true religionist. He then enters into the field of philosophy or theology. A real pietist, like a true lover, cannot explain what force or what reason brings him into the fellowship of God. Love knows no reasons and when it reasons then it is no longer true love. Both religion and love belong to the realm of mystery. Neither can be fully explained. Both are inward feelings which defy reason and explanation.

Reason, on the other hand, belongs to the realm of philosophy. It seeks to penetrate the unknown. It cannot and will not tolerate mystery.

Josephus tells us that the Pharisees "follow the contract of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice" (Ant. 18, 1:3). The Pharisees listened to the voice of reason. The soul within man, they believed is "the portion of God from above" (Job 31.2), a light of His light. Torah must therefore be interpreted with the aid of reason and the interpretations thereof be approved by reason. Reason, the Pharisees, maintained, is one of the ways by which God guides men in their deliberations and reveals to them the secrets of His Law. It was inconceivable, they held, that God should give Laws to His children, which would contradict reason. Thus the law "an eye for an eye" (Ex. 21.24-25), they said outrages human conscience and was never meant to be taken literally. Firmly convinced of the correctness of their understanding of the Law, they consequently interpreted it, to merely mean monetary compensation.

In the same spirit, they interpreted the Biblical Laws pertaining to the Sabbath day. The Sabbath, in their

opinion was given to man for rest and enjoyment and not for suffering inconveniences. "The Sabbath is given to you and you are not given to the Sabbath" (Mekilta, Sabbata I, Friedmann 103b). This idea of the purpose of the Sabbath the Pharisees found expressed in the words of the prophet: "And call the Sabbath a delight . . . then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord" (Isa. 58, 13-14). They accordingly could not understand the law in Ex. 34.3 to mean: "Ye shall burn no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day," as it was understood by other Jewish sects, like the Samaritans and even the Karaites up to the fourteenth century. For, so the Pharisees reasoned, how could the Sabbath be called a delight if one is to be deprived on it of the comforts of light and heat? They refused to consider the Sabbath a Tabu day to be spent in gloom and cold and darkness. They, therefore, interpreted the law in Exodus 35.3 to mean, "Ye, shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath day," i.e., you shall not do the arduous work of building a fire or producing light on the Sabbath day. You may, however, nay you should, have in your homes fire and light, so very necessary for your comfort and pleasure, on the Sabbath day; only let the work of preparing it be done before the Sabbath. They even considered it a religious duty and insisted that for the proper observance of the Sabbath it is indispensable to have lights in the home on Friday night, so as to make the home cheerful and the Sabbath a delight. This Pharisaic institution is still observed in Jewish homes. When performing the ceremony of lighting the candles on Friday night, a benediction is recited thanking God for having sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us to kindle the Sabbath light. For, according to Pharisaic teachings, God did command us to have lights in the homes on the Sabbath even though no such commandment is explicitly mentioned in the Torah. He implied it in His commandment, "Observe the Sabbath day" (Deut. 5.12), for this is a proper form of observing the Sabbath.

He commanded it to us through His prophet when he said, "Call the Sabbath a delight," which means to have the home cheerful and bright and not cold, dark and gloomy. Guided by the same principle that the Sabbath is given for man's pleasure, they interpreted another Sabbath law in such a manner as to remove from the Sabbath the character of a Tabu day and teach us an advanced idea of the religious observance of the day. The law: "Abide ye every man in his place, let no one go out of his place on the seventh day" (Ex. 16-29) was interpreted by some sects to mean, that one should not budge from his place and not be allowed to leave the house. This again gives the Sabbath the character of a Tabu day or an unlucky day. The Pharisees, denying that the Sabbath was of such a character, interpreted this law to mean, that one should not leave the town or the village where he dwells—taking the word ("his place" in a broader sense to mean town or village,—and go on a distant journey, and also that one should not go out of the house carrying burdens on the Sabbath day. They learned from Jer. 17.12ff. that the proper observance of the Sabbath was to refrain from bearing any burdens or carrying forth burdens out of the house. But without carrying any burdens, the Pharisees taught, one may leave the house and take a pleasurable walk even outside of the city or the village, provided it it not too long a distance. For this would be a tiresome effort and no longer a pleasure, hence not in keeping with the spirit of the day.

Divine Truth From Sources Other Than The Torah

By the application of reason to the study of the Torah, the Pharisees rendered it into an evergrowing, ever unfolding revelation, capable of assimilating new truths and always remain timely.

According to the Pharisees, God's Word was not limited to the Pentateuch. Hath not the prophets spoken in the

name of God? What of their messages were they not also based upon the Torah? And what of the writings found in some of the other sacred books with which they were familiar and which spoke to them with the same force as the Torah, shall these teachings be forgotten? Are they not also the voice of God, God's command to His children?

Since the Torah is not just a group of laws imposed upon Israel, the Pharisees reasoned, but Divine truth revealed to man, it cannot conflict with other expressions of Divine truth as recorded in the other sacred writings. Thus they extended the Torah beyond the Five books of Moses.

Of course, it took some time till the distinction between the Pentateuch and the other Biblical works entirely disappeared, but the Pharisees already at a very early time conceived the idea of including in the Torah the teachings of the prophets and of the other sacred writings. They had to do so as a matter of logical consistency, for, to their way of thinking, there was no reason to make any distinction between one revelation and the other. The Torah, to them, had its authority not because of the oath taken by the people but because of its being revealed truth, the word of God, and the teachings of the prophets also were the words of God. Of course, the Torah of Moses represents the earliest and most comprehensive revelation, aiming at regulating human conduct. The prophet, therefore, cannot make new laws in opposition to the Torah. He does, however, explain and supplement the laws of the Torah, and the Torah must be so interpreted as to accord with the prophetic teachings. The Pharisees would, therefore, often use both the help of reason, dictating higher ideas and broader principles, and the words of the prophets revealing spiritual concepts and Divine truth, for supports and guides in interpreting the Law, thus making it expressive of more advanced religious ideas and spiritual truths.

But if religion cannot be explained by reason, if belief like love is beyond reason, how can we justify the tendency

of the Pharisees to build their entire structure of Judaism on reason? Had the Pharisees viewed Judaism simply as a religion, then of course, their entire approach toward the Torah would have been different and they would have had no use for reason. But the Pharisees viewed the Torah not as something mysterious; it was to them and those to succeed them a guide.

Judaism, to the Pharisees was much more than a religion. It was considered by them as a way of life which had to be constantly examined, analyzed, interpreted, and adapted to the needs of the times, to be applied to every new condition. They therefore regarded reason as a necessary instrument for preserving the Torah and rendering its precepts effective in every day life.

HALACHA AND HAGGADAH THE FRUIT OF PHARISAIC WORK

Both Halachah and Haggadah served in shaping and moulding the course of Pharisaic Judaism. Each played a unique role in guiding the destiny of Jewry and the life of each individual Jew. Now let us see the part each played in influencing Jewish life. Since Haggadah developed first, I shall begin first with an explanation of Haggadah.

In the beginning, the interpretation of Torah was a simple matter. It was called Midrash-Torah. In common usage it is shortened to Midrash and denotes the homiletic exposition either of Scripture in general or Torah in particular. The collection of such expositions formed in the early centuries of the common era and containing material some of which goes back to the Sopherim, are called Midrashim, with various distinctive names, such as Midrash Rabbah, Midrash Tanhuma and others. The form of exposition common to all these is that the text to be interpreted is given along with the interpretation, the teaching derived from it, or based upon it, or associated with it. This is known as the Midrash-form, to distinguish it from the Mishnah-form in which the result of interpretation is given without the text to which it refers.

The word "haggadah' (Aramaic, "agada") means primarily the recitation or teaching of Scripture; in a narrower sense it denotes the exegetic amplification of a Biblical passage and the development of a new thought based thereupon. Like the fomula "maggid ha-Katub" (= "the Scrip-

ture teaches"), frequently found in the ancient writing, the noun "haggadah" (plural, "haggadot") probably had at first a general application, but at an early date was restricted to denote a nonhalakic explanation (comp. Bacher, "Ag. Tan." 2d ed., pp. 461 et seq.). The word then came to be used in a more general sense, designating not the haggadic interpretation of single passages, but haggadic exegesis in general, the body of haggadic interpretations—in fine, everything which does not belong to the field of the Halakah. The haggadic Midrash, which confined itself originally to the exposition of Scripture text, was developed in its period of florescence into finished discourses. "The Haggadah, which is intended to bring heaven down to the congregation, and also to lift man up to heaven, appears in this office both as the glorification of God and as the comfort of Israel. Hence religious truths, moral maxims, discussions concerning divine retribution, the inculcation of the laws which attest Israel's nationality, descriptions of its past and future greatness, scenes and legends from Jewish history, comparisons between the divine and Jewish institutions, praises of the Holy Land, encouraging stories, and comforting reflections of all kinds form the most important subjects of these discourses" (Zunz, "G. V." 1st ed., pp. 349 et seq.).

As the vicissitudes of national life multiplied during the turbulent centuries of the Second Commonwealth, as the experiences of the nation were enriched by persecution and struggle, by triumph and hope for complete redemption, as new ideas were increased both by contact with other cultures and by Jewish reaction to their encroachment, they all found expression in the constantly growing Haggadah. The interpretation of the Bible in all its parts had to be strained to the utmost to provide spiritual food for the people. It had to absorb all other elements, such as stories, proverbs, allegories bits of metaphysics or even science and many more forms of literature. It thus happened to Haggadah what happened to the legal inquiry and study. It had to be

divided into two parts, one which was always connected with the interpretation of the Bible, and the other which consisted of groups of stories, ethical sayings, proverbs, even general conduct maxims bearing upon ordinary phases of life, such as health preserving, the arts, industries, domestic economy, etc. It is most possible that these groups of Haggadic statements were written down in books, which were known as books of Haggadah, and were circulated among the people, even before the destruction of the Second Temple. But the interpretative Haggadah continued to grow and increase through the activity of the preachers who sermonized every Sabbath and festive days in the synagogues. The lines of division between these two kinds of Haggadah were often overstepped, and the two types of spiritual teaching frequently amalgamated.

The Contents of Haggadah

The contents of Haggadah may be classified into several groups: the homiletical, ethical, religious and polemical, popular science, historical and mystical. The homiletical confines itself mainly to interpreting the Bible. The ethical is composed of similes, pithy sayings, fables, parables, maxims, riddles and witticism. The outstanding collection of ethical Haggadah is the Mishnah tractate Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers). Religious and polemical Haggadah includes doctrinal theology, Messianic speculations, polemics against new, heretical religious ideas, and apologetics for Judaism. Such subjects as medicine, magic, astronomy, astrology and mathematics come under the grouping, popular science. Historical Haggadah deals with the legendary embellishment of historical events, miracles, saga, genuine reports of post-Biblical history, biographical anecdotes, traditions and folklore about Biblical characters. While historical Haggadah on the one hand is full of anachronisms, as, for example, the description of the heroes of antiquity as scholars immersed

in the study of Torah, it also contains some real information of tremendous value to scholars, especially for the history of early Talmudic times, for which no adequate contemporary history exists. The mystical Haggadah contains speculations about God, His various names, about the cosmos, creation and the Kingdom of Heaven. Here, too, are found angelology, demonology; and inferences deduced from the numerical value of the letters comprising various words (Gematria).

The Influence of Haggadah on the Jewish People

The Haggadah expatiates on the virtues of the Jewish people. It magnifies the idea of a chosen people, relates with great embellishments certain episodes in Jewish history, thus showing how the hand of God is manifested in it from its beginning, and inculcates innumerable times the idea that God has not forsaken Israel even in exile. The question of the suffering of the people occupies a prominent place. It was explained to be both a chastisement for sins, and a means for future reward. And above all, the Haggadah devoted itself to Messianic times. It pictured those times with the glowing and rich colors of Oriental phantasy. The Messiah became an ideal figure. His coming was described extensively and minutely. Whole collections are devoted to the end, where the sufferings that will be sustained before the redemption arrives are described, and the glorious time painted in grotesque manner. In the description of the Messianic time, the material and the spiritual are mixed.

The Haggadah was the well of living waters whence the Jew in exile drank thirstily and drew inspiration and comfort in his bitter struggle. In it, he found shelter from the persecutions and insults heaped upon him by his neighbors. Borrowing a simile from Heine, we can say that it is thanks to the Haggadah which fortified the Jew in his miserable life and whispered to him words of comfort reminding him

of his former dignity and future splendor, that the "enchanted prince" preserved inwardly his princely dignity while forced to live the life of a dog externally. In the Haggadah, the Jewish child found ample room for the play of his imagination, and in it he satisfied his poetic craving, so that the poetic feeling of the singer of the Psalms was kept alive in Israel, and in time it bore fruit.

The Pharisees and Halacha

In Exodus 18, 20 it is said: "And thou shalt make clear to them the statutes and the Laws, and make known to them the way wherein they should walk and the thing which they should do."

The Mishna-form used by the Pharisees to interpret the Torah, produced such laws which were not clearly expressed in the Torah. These laws often shed light on many matters and pointed to a prescribed course of action, conduct, not intimated in the Written Law.

Any law which the Pharisees introduced and which clearly gave a rule of right conduct was called Halacha. A Halacha, according to the Pharisees was a specific declaration of the divine will applicable to a given case; and, as such it was binding on all who accepted the Torah as their supreme guide and professed to 'walk' in the way which it indicated. The task of defining the Halacha was one of extreme importance, because it meant legislating for all who accepted the Pharisaic principle.

What the Halacha should be was not determined by one individual teacher. Usually an assembly of Rabbis decided on a law under study, by a majority vote. A Halacha so defined was henceforth binding on all Jews—that is those of the Pharisaic ranks. No law however, could be repealed by a majority vote of another Assembly if it excelled the first in wisdom (M. Edu. 1.5). On the other hand, no law could be

imposed on the community, unless the majority of the community was able to bear it (b. A. Zara, 36a B. Bathr. 60b). The purpose of the Halacha was to cover the whole of practical life, pertaining to the individual as well as the community. The Halacha therefore, included both, matters of a civil and criminal nature. The Halacha prescribed with great minuteness also the private life of the individual. The essence of the Halacha was the performing of an act in the correct way, as God commanded.

Each generation added its own Halachas to what it had inherited from the past. Thus a chain of tradition lengthened link by link and it became known as the Tradition of the Elders. By the Tradition of the Elders, is meant, the decisions and opinions formulated in each successive generation and transmitted to the next.

According to the Pharisaic view, divine revelation could never be exhausted. Every fresh interpretation, they considered as old and was either forgotten or was apprehended by the people for the first time. As it is said in (Peah 17A): "Whatever an astute disciple shall hereafter teach in the presence of his Rabbi, has already been said to Moses at Sinai."

With the passage of time the application of the Oral Law in all its manifold phases as the basis for the life and conduct of the individual and the nation, naturally led to its expansion which eventually reached very great dimensions. Not only were the concrete provisions of enactments and judgments handed down, but also the Scriptural passages to which hermeneutical rules had been applied and the discussions on them. In addition a great body of dialectical argument and reasoning was preserved. There came a time when it became necessary, in the interests of its own preservation, to abstract from the Oral Law the basic legal conclusions which had accumulated, and to arrange them in the form of a systematic compendium. The result of this

process is embodied in the Mishnah, a monumental task brought to completion by Rabbi Judah the Patriarch about the end of the second century C.E.

Rabbi Judah embodied in his Mishnah the decisions which he and his colleagues took on many issues which had been the subject of legal dispute between earlier Tannaim. These decisions are quoted in the Mishnah either anonymously or as 'the opinion of the Sages.' Some Mishnahs contain nothing more than an anonymous ruling, while others follow it up by quoting one or more viewpoints disputing it. There were two reasons for recording rejected opinions. In the first place, the possibility of confusion subsequently arising would thereby be forestalled: should a person ever claim to have received a tradition that a viewpoint which had in fact been rejected was the law, he could be told 'you have heard the opinion of such a person' (Eduyoth 1). Secondly, later legislative assemblies, if they found themselves in disagreement with the decision of their predecessors, would be enabled to reverse it and sanction as law the opinion which the latter had rejected (in the absence of a record of an opposing viewpoint, they would have no alternative but to accept the earlier decision, unless they were greater in 'wisdom and numbers' than those who had made it). Where rulings appear anonymously and undisputed it may be assumed that they were either not disputed at all or that the possibility of their ever being challenged or set aside was so remote that it was not considered necessary to record alternative opinions. The statement that a ruling is 'the opinion of the Sages' does not necessarily mean that it was the viewpoint of the majority of the masters involved in the discussion; Rabbi Judah sometimes sided with a minority opinion but nonetheless set it down in this fashion in order to assure its authority. In some Mishnahs an anonymous opening ruling is disputed by one declared to be 'the opinion of the Sages.' In such cases the law is in accordance with the latter opinon. The

anonymity of the first ruling, it is explained, was due to the fact that it was the undisputed view of earlier Tannaim, and when Rabbi Judah found himself in disagreement with them, he tacked on to it as 'the opinion of the Sages' what he considered to be the law.

According to some scholars, Rabbi Judah also committed the Mishnah to writing. Others assume this to have taken place at a much later date.

Fulfilling the hopes placed in it, the new redaction won its way rapidly to universal recognition. Unmatched in comprehensiveness, in logic of sequence, in compactness of form, conciseness of style and brevity of diction, its general balance and precision, together with the vast amount of new legal decisions which it embodied, made it resemble a legal code more than any other Mishnah collection. This distinction had been achieved without any radical upset of precedent, respect for which was essential for the acceptance of this endeavour. What had come to be the characteristic Mishnah pattern had been used as the framework into which far-reaching improvements had been introduced, while vestiges of antiquity, which compensated for their inharmonious style and form by their historical associations, had been left undisturbed. Backed by its unequalled qualities, to which were added the intellectual reputation and religious authority of its author, it soon superseded all other collections and moved assuredly into its place in Jewish Literature as the authoritative Mishnah. Confusion which had already made deep inroads into the province of the Oral Law was stemmed and rolled back, and uniformity and order advanced to take the place of diversity and chaos.

The historical circumstances of the time doubtless also played their part in investing this redaction with an unchallengeable authority bordering on canonisation. It appeared, it is true, in a period of comparative quiet, when the yoke of oppression lay more lightly than heretofore on the land and the people. But the calm was merely superficial; beneath

it the inexorable currents of national destiny swirled on in their grim and relentless course. The failure of the Bar-Cochba Revolt had relegated the restoration of Jewish statehood to a vision of a remote future. Devastation and misery leaned heavily on the plains and valleys, the towns and villages, of Judea who, inconsolable, fled from the light of history to bemoan, in the shadow of desolation, her fallen glory and the loss of the flower of her youth, snatched away by cruel death or alien captivity. The writing on the wall was clear and unmistakable, and the nation, fortified by the indomitable resilience which in Jewish history has ever been the child of misfortune-braced itself to meet the Exile. The physical bond of the homeland being snapped asunder, the unity of the nation in its Dispersion would devolve wholly on the maintenance of the ties of a common spiritual heritage. With such a prospect ahead, to perpetuate a variety of collections of the Oral Law would have been to court disaster; and hence all other collections were cast aside in favour of Rabbi Judah's.

THE PROPHETIC INFLUENCE ON THE PHARISAIC GOD CONCEPT AND MODE OF WORSHIP

In ancient Israel, as throughout antiquity, 'worship of God' was synonymous with ritual and sacrifices, for the people believed that, above everything else, YHWH laid stress on the punctilious observance of the ritual and on regularity and zeal in offering sacrifices.

In view of the importance which the ritual possessed in their minds, it was but natural that the people should bestow on it the greatest vigilance and assiduity. Whenever disaster befell them, they accepted it as a sign that YHWH was displeased with them; their concern for the cult was wont to grow in proportion to the severity of the visitation, and they would seek to appease YHWH's wrath by increased offerings and gifts and by holy assemblies.

This belief of the people that they could worship God by celebrating festivals and please Him by offering sacrifices was vigorously assailed by Amos and his successors, for the prophets acknowledged no other mode of worship than the worship of God in the spirit, that is to say, by faith and by righteous conduct.

In this connection Jeremiah's impassioned Temple-sermon may be recalled, where he denounces the people for putting their trust in such delusions as the Temple and the cult and bids them dispense with their sacrifices, since the

only thing that can avail them is to amend their lives and practise justice.

To the same effect is Isaiah's utterance:

"The Lord God speaks, because this people approach me with their mouths,
and honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me,
and their worship is but a precept
devised by man and learned by rote,
therefore I will deal with this people to (their) confusion,
so that the wisdom of their sages will vanish,
and the intelligence of their wise men be confounded"
(Is. 29, 13-14).

Similarly Hosea declares in the name of God:

"Love do I desire, and not sacrifices,
and knowledge of God, not holocausts" (Hos. 6, 6).

Then, too, we have the great passage from Micah:

"Wherewith shall I approach the Lord,
wherewith shall I bow myself before God on High?
Shall I approach Him with burnt-offerings,
with calves of a year old?
Doth God take delight in thousands of rams,
or in myriads of streamlets of oil?
Shall I give my first-born in atonement of my transgression,
the fruit of my womb in expiation of my sin?
He hath told thee, O man, what is good;
and what doth the Lord require of thee,
but to do justice and to love mercy,
and to walk humbly with thy God!" (Mic. 6, 6-8).

All this we are inclined to accept to-day as self-evident truth; but to the Israelites of Amos' age such utterances must have seemed intolerable blasphemy, and the prophet who dared to proclaim them little short of a madman. What did he mean by prophesying irrevocable doom to them? Did they not offer daily sacrifices to God? Did they not seek constantly to appease His wrath by holocausts? Did they not observe His festivals, the days of solemn assembly, and offer thanksgiving to Him and sin-and peace-offerings? Amos, however, points out to them the mockery of their belief that they serve YHWH by festal celebrations and sacrifices, and induce His good-will by ritual observances. Referring to their visits to the holy shrines, which visits represented the very acme of piety to their minds, he says caustically:

> "Go to Beth-El and sin, to Gilgal and sin more,
> in that ye bring the following day your sacrifices,
> the third day your tithes,
> and sacrifice thank-offerings of leavened bread,
> and loudly invite to free-will offerings;
> for so do ye love to do, O Israelites,
> saith the Lord God" (Am. 4, 4).

With characteristic vigor he thunders forth in the name of God:

"I loathe, I despise your festivals,
I cannot abide your sacred assemblies.
When ye offer me sacrifices and gifts
I do not care for them,
and at your thank-offering of fatted calves I do not look.
Begone from me with the noise of your hymns!
To the music of your harps I will no longer listen" (5, 21-23).

Justice and righteousness alone, he tells them, have value in God's eyes, and only by cultivating these can one serve Him and incur His favor:

"But let justice flow forth like water,
and righteousness like a perennial stream" (ib., 24).

And again:

"Seek good and not evil, that ye may live,
and God be really with you as ye believe.
Nay, hate evil and love good
and establish justice in the gate of justice,
Perchance the Lord, God Sabaoth might show mercy unto decimated Joseph" (5, 14-15).

Equally emphatic is Isaiah:

"Hear the word of God, ye chieftains of Sodom!
Give ear to the revelation of our God, people of Gomorrah!
What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me, saith the Lord?
I have enough of your holocausts of rams and the fat of fed beasts;
and in the blood of bullocks and he-goats I delight not.
That ye come to appear before me,
who hath required this of you—to tread my courts?
Bring vain offerings no more!
Bringing sacrifices is an abomination to me!
New moon and Sabbath, the calling of assemblies
I cannot endure. . . .
Your New moons and your festivals my soul doth hate,
they are a burden unto me;
I am weary of bearing it.

And when ye spread forth your hands
I hide mine eyes from you;
even if ye offer up many prayers, I will not hear:
Your hands are full of blood.
Cleanse yourselves! Purify yourselves!
Remove your wicked deeds from mine eyes!
Cease to do evil! Learn to do good!
Practise justice! Hold in check the oppressor!
Secure the right of the fatherless!
Plead the cause of the widow!
Come, let us reason, saith the Lord:
If your sins are as scarlet, shall they become white as snow?
If they are red as crimson, shall they become white as wool?
If ye be willing and obedient, ye may enjoy the fruit of the land;
but if ye refuse and be rebellious, ye shall be consumed by the sword—
It is the mouth of God that speaketh" (Is. 1, 10-20).

It is very difficult for us to realize what a tremendous advance in religious thought was marked by this view of the prophets as to what constitutes true worship. It must be remembered that it was not only for their Israelitish contemporaries that the worship of God had no wider significance than the cult. To whatever literature of ancient times we may turn, we see that religion was identified with ritual and sacrifices, and that in these the whole religious life centered.

The primitive conceptions at the root of the sacrificial cult are most apparent in the twofold purpose which it was thought to serve. Sacrifices were regarded, on the one hand, as the medium by which man might enter into or renew communion with the deity, as the sacramental meal by which

the bond between the devotee and his god was established—for partaking at the god's table meant being admitted to his friendship; and, on the other hand, as the most efficacious means of incurring the favor of the deity.

In the latter respect it must be remembered that, in return for his holocausts and sacrifices, the offerer expected from the deity, not spiritual gifts, but purely material blessings, such as a plentiful harvest, numerous flocks, long life, or, for the nation at large prosperity, conquest, and so on.

It was this grossly materialistic conception of religion that was so repugnant to the prophets. It was this that Hosea had in mind when he upbraided his contemporaries:

"They do not pray from their hearts;
when they cry in their vigils,
they are exercised because of their grain and wine" (Hos. 7,14).

He would have them pray, not for their temporal welfare, not for the gratification of their material wants, but to satisfy the needs of their soul.

But to such a spiritualization of religion the people were necessarily impervious. Their own conception was like a barrier, against which the prophetic ideas beat in vain. Hence the repeated declarations of the prophets that it was because of their religious delusions and their mistaken cult that the people were so blind to the real truth—that is to say, to the fact which they considered all-essential, that only righteousness and purity of heart have weight with God, and that only by cultivating these can one serve Him. As Hosea represents it, the cause of the people's godless life lies in the fact that their altars and sacrifices are of paramount concern to them:

"A luxuriant vine was Israel,
whose fruit grew plentifully.

The more its fruit increased,
the more numerous it made its altars;
the more the land prospered,
the more beautiful massebas they built.
Emphraim has built many altars—
its altars have caused it to sin." (Hos. 10, 1 and 8, 11).

It may be noted incidentally that Hosea consistently refers to the people's sacrifices and other religious practices as sin, lewdness, iniquity; cf. IV, 8, 12, V, 4-6.

The great value of the oft-quoted passage from Micah consists therein that both conceptions, the false conception of the people and the vital conception of the prophets, are placed side by side, so that the immense spiritual advance of the latter over the former is brought home to us most forcibly by the contrast:

> "Wherewith shall I approach the Lord,
> wherewith shall I bow myself before God on high?
> Shall I approach Him with burnt-offerings,
> with claves of a year old?" concluding,
> "He hath told thee, O man, what is good;
> and what doth the Lord require of thee,
> but to do justice and to love mercy,
> and to walk humbly with thy God."

Contrary to the views of their times that only through the medium of ritual and sacrifice, of temple and priest, could man have intercourse with God, the prophets, for the first time in the history of human thought, gave expression to the fundamental ethical truth that God is present in every human heart, and that, by virtue of this, it is in every man's power to enjoy communion with Him without any mediatorship whatever, the only condition being that he who would converse with God, must live a life of purity and righteousness and walk humbly with God.

In accordance with this, the glorious future consummation, which is the ideal of the prophets, will consist therein, that the whole people will know God, that every man will experience God in his heart and strive evermore after justice and righteousness; Jeremiah even goes as far as to predict that in the ideal future all codified law will be dispensed with, since God's moral law will be indelibly inscribed in the heart of each individual and will assert itself unfailingly in every conscience:

"Days shall come, saith the Lord,
when I shall make a new covenant
with the house of Israel and the house of Judah;
not like the covenant which I made with their fathers
the day that I took them by the hand
to lead them out of the land of Egypt,
which covenant they broke, so that I cast them off.
But this will be the covenant
which I shall make with the house of Israel
in the days to come, saith the Lord:
I shall implant my law in their minds,
and I shall write it in their hearts,
and I shall be to them a God, and they will be to me a people—
Then they will no longer need to teach one another
with the words, 'Know God!'
For they will all know me,
from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord" (Jer. 31, 31-34).

In ancient Israel, as throughout antiquity, religion was inseparably bound up with the forms of political life, with nation and country. In accordance with their conception of YHWH as the national God, the Israelitish people believed that He could be worshipped only within the sphere of His influence, that is within the domain of Israel. Thus

David, reproaching Saul for banishing him from the country, says, in case men incited him to that course: "Be they cursed before YHWH, for they have driven me away this day from sharing in the heritage of YHWH, saying: 'Go, worship other gods'." (I Sam. 26, 19). In Deut. 28, 64 we find: "The Lord shall scatter thee among the nations all over the earth, and there thou shalt worship other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, of wood and stone." Similarly Hosea, speaking from the people's point of view asks his contemporaries what they will do at the festive season, on the day of the feast of YHWH, when they are exiled from YHWH's country," and, consequently, are unable to sacrifice to Him:

"They shall no longer dwell in the land of YHWH,
Ephraim must go back to Egypt,
or in Assyria they shall eat unclean things.
Then they will not be able to pour libations to YHWH,
nor to prepare their sacrifice to Him;
their bread will be like the bread of mourning,
all that eat thereof will be defiled;
their bread will serve but to satisfy their hunger,
it will not come in the house of YHWH.
What will ye do then at the festive season
on the day of the feast of YHWH?" (Hos. 9, 3-5; also 3, 4 and Ezek. 4, 12).

But the most essential feature of this system was that religion was primarily the concern of the community, not of the individual; the individual, as the above-quoted passage from I Sam. 26, 19 shows, could share in the service of YHWH, and enjoy the fellowship of faith only by virtue of being a member of the social-religious community. The prime object of all religious celebrations and functions was the promotion of the common weal, not of the individual well-being. As W. Robertson Smith well describes it: "In

ancient religion, as it appears among the Semites, the confident assurance of divine help belongs, not to each man in his private concerns, but to the community in its public functions and aims; and it is this assurance that is expressed in public acts of worship, where all the members of the community meet together to eat and drink at the table of their god, and to renew the sense that he and they are altogether at one. . . . The good things which religion holds forth are promised to the individual only in so far as he lives in and for the community."

For the prophets religion meant individual piety. They repudiated the idea of tribal responsibility, of mediatorship and sacrifices, and, instead, set up as standard for the individual a humble consciousness of God—for He is a "present God"—and the moral obligation and desire to do what is just and right—for He is a "holy God." This conception of religion marks a new era in the religious development of Israel, for through it religion became dissociated from the confines of nation and country; it ceased to be part and parcel of the political-social order into which a man was born, and became preeminently the concern of the individual.

It should be stated that, while all the prophets implicitly opposed the old belief in tribal solidarity and collective responsibility, it was Jeremiah in particular, who explicitly formulated the new idea of moral freedom and individual responsibility:

> "In those days (i.e. in the days of the future Israel)
> it shall no longer be said:
> 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes,
> and the teeth of the children are set on edge';
> but every one will die for his own sin—
> he that eateth sour grapes, his teeth will be set on
> edge" (Jer. 31, 29-30).

It is not surprising that Jeremiah was the one to give expression to this thought, for of him it is more true than of any other prophet that his relation to God was of a conscious, personal nature. On God he relied utterly with heart and reason—from him he derived his strength, his comfort, and his hope; and his conclusions regarding individual versus collective responsibility, as also his picture of the ideal, future Israel (which directly follows the verses just quoted), are the outgrowth of his own spiritual experience.

There is still another point on which the views of the prophets were diametrically opposed to those of their contemporaries, and on which Amos, in especial, is most outspoken. This is in regard to the social and economic conditions which prevailed throughout the land. In those times, even as in our own days, wealth and prosperity were looked upon as the bulwark of the nation's strength, and as the unmistakable sign of God's favor; and, consequently, nothing was so highly valued and so diligently sought after as material prosperity.

But Amos had very different views. To him the country's wealth was offset by the impoverishment of the masses, and the ease and luxury to which the upper classes complacently gave themselves up were purchased by the sweat of the poor:

> "Proclaim in the palaces of Asdod
> and in the palaces of the land of Egypt,
> and bid them assemble in Mt. Samaria,
> and witness the lawlessness and oppression therein.
> They know not how to do right, they
> who let violence and tyranny hold sway in their
> palaces" (Am. 3, 9).

The pleasure-loving women of the capital, whom he contemptuously calls "Kine of Bashan," vied with their hus-

bands in gratifying their avarice and their desire for luxurious living:

> "Hear this, ye Kine of Bashan, in Mt. Samaria,
> who oppress the poor and crush the needy,
> who speak to their lords:
> Get (the means) that we may carouse!" (4, 1).

On account of these conditions, the whole splendid structure of which the nation boasts is to Amos a tottering edifice, a mighty evil doomed to destruction. He represents God speaking: "I loathe the pride of Jacob," the splendid palaces of sin, the whole flourishing constitution of the state founded on despotism, "and I shall deliver up the city and her wealth." (6, 8).

And again he says:

> "Hear this, ye who would swallow up the needy,
> and who ruin the poor of the country,
> who speak, when will the New Moon be gone,
> that we may sell corn?
> and the Sabbath, that we may open the granaries?—
> make the measure small and the price high
> and deal falsely with the balances of deceit!
> that we may buy the poor for silver
> and the needy for a pair of shoes,
> and that we may sell refuse of grain?
> YHWH has sworn by the pride of Jacob,
> I will never forget one of their deeds" (8, 4-7).

Again and again Amos tells his audience it is because of the orgies indulged in in the palaces of the rich and the injustice practised towards the poor that the nation must

come to ruin. For it is just as impossible, he tells them, for a state to exist in which right and justice are perverted, as it would be for horses to race over rocks, or as it would be to plow the sea with oxen (6, 12).

According to Amos the day of utter woe and terror (5, 18), when this whole structure of social wrong will be destroyed, will be a day of victory for YHWH—but victory in the sense that on that day God's justice shall triumph over lawlessness and sin, and his eternal righteousness be manifest to all the world.

Similarly Isaiah describes his nation's day of doom. When all earthly glory sinks in the dust at YHWH's appearance for judgment, men's eyes will be opened to the vanity of their idols, to the vanity of all things material, and they will realize that the distance between the human and the divine is a moral one, will realize that God's Kingdom is the Kingdom of morality:

"On that day the Lord Sabaoth will be exalted by
justice,
and the Holy God will show Himself holy by right-
eousness."

This is the ethical monotheism of the prophets, this their contribution to religious thought, their message to mankind, that it is in man's moral nature that religion has its roots, that it is the spiritual, not the material world whence the idea of the divine flows into man's soul, that it is the sense of right and justice innate in man that brings him ever new assurance of the existence of God and of His control of the universe for a moral purpose or, as the prophetic author of the story, "Elijah on Mt. Horeb," puts it that it is by "the still, small voice" that God reveals Himself to man.

Through the teachings of the prophets, the Pharisees gained a higher and deeper concept of God. They learned to think of Him as a spiritual being. They learned that God was not to be pictured in any form or likened to any other being. They began to understand that God is not limited to any place but that He is present everywhere in the heavens above as well as on the earth beneath; that the whole earth is full of glory; that He is just and kind and rules the world with justice and kindness; that everything in the universe emanates from God depends upon Him but He does not depend on anything and that; "whatever God the Merciful doeth is for the best" (Ber. 60b).

This is how the Pharisees learned to think of God as a result of the Prophetic influence. The Torah speaks of a similar God concept but the idea of Him is beclouded by anthropomorphic references. It was the task of the Pharisees to reconcile their more advanced God concept with the anthropomorphic God of the Torah.

The Torah, after all is truth, hence it cannot contradict itself nor can it contradict the teachings of the prophets, which according to the Pharisees was also Torah and therefore truth. The anthropomorphic references to God were not to be taken literally the Pharisees taught. How is it possible to take literally such expressions as: "And they saw the God of Israel" (Ex. 24.10) but the Torah also reports God as having said to Moses: "For man shall not see Me and live" (Ex. 32.20). In another passage it is written: "Ye heard the voice of words but ye saw no form" (Deut. 4.12). And when it is said: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day" (Ex. 20.11) this the Pharisaic teachers declared must not be understood as God had labored six days and needed to rest on the seventh day. They remembered the

teaching of the prophet who taught them that God never tires: "Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard that the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" (Isa. 40.28). The Psalmist also declared that: "by the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33.6) and that He did not have to labor. The Pharisees urged that all such statements in the Torah which depict God as a human being and acting as one, were not to be taken literally but figuratively. But why did the Torah employ these anthropomorphic terms in the first place? The Torah had to use human language, argued the Pharisees, in order to give concrete expressions to abstract ideas (Mekilta, Bahodesh 4, Friedman 65a).

As the Pharisees conceived God as one so they believed in one humanity. According to the Pharisees all men are born equal. No man can claim to be of nobler birth than the other, nor can any race claim superiority over another. For all are descendent from one father and one mother—Adam and Eve. And the reason why the Torah teaches that mankind descended from one father, the Pharisees explain, is that no one should be able to say to another, "My father was greater than yours" (M. Sanh. 4.5). And, that human beings should live together in peace since they are all brothers.

The Pharisees believed with Micah and Isaiah that when the Oneness and Fatherhood of God will be perceived by others as they perceived it, then all the nations will come up to the mountain of the Lord, to the God of Jacob, to learn of His ways, to walk in His paths. However, instead of waiting for the nations to come to Zion, and to learn of God's ways, the Pharisees went out from Zion to bring the Torah, God's word to the nations. Their campaign for Judaism and their God idea was strong. "They did compass sea and land to make one proselyte" (Matt. 23.15). In the course of time, however, because of unfavorable conditions,

the Pharisees gave up their active proselytizing propaganda. But their idea of the Oneness of God and the unity of mankind they did not give up. Their ideas were preserved, perpetuated, and are the basic teachings of Judaism in our day.

The Pharisaic View Of Reward And Punishment

According to the Pharisaic view, God is omnipotent and omniscient. Nothing is impossible for him. While He knows before-hand all that will happen, yet, his fore-knowledge does not interfere with man choosing good or evil.

In Deuteronomy it is stated that man has two ways before him, with the freedom to choose either, and, significantly with a fair warning of the just consequences of both choices (Deut. 11:26; 30:15, 19). Jeremiah repeats the Deuteronomic thought of the two ways (Jer. 21:8) and affirms that man is rewarded by God according to the canons of justice.

Since man is responsible for his conduct, led the Pharisees to the belief in Divine retribution, that is the doers of good will be rewarded with goodness and the evil doers will be punished accordingly. And, because this was not true to the facts of life, the Pharisees therefore, extended the idea of Reward and Punishment to the future. This too proved untrue to reality, for many a wicked person died without suffering, and many a righteous one died unrewarded. Hence the idea of Reward and Punishment was relegated to the World to Come. This idea in turn, gave rise to the belief in Resurrection.

As for justice to be experienced by the nation as a whole, which suffered far beyond its measure of sin, Reward was postponed for the day when the Messiah would come.

Thus through the ideas of the World to Come, and the belief in a Messianic person, or period, the Pharisees, justified and clarified the question of a God that is just who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked.

The Pharisaic interpretation of God's justice through

the World to Come, offered a practical solution to a vexing problem which threatened to divert man from virtue and the pursuit of goodness and righteousness.

Worship Through Prayer And The Rise Of The Synagogue

The higher God concept, which the Pharisees gained through the prophets, led them also to a new way of worship. They conceived of prayer as a more fitting mode of worship than sacrifices.

In Biblical times prayer was a personal matter. People prayed whenever they were moved to do so. Thus we find prayers by Moses (Exodus XXXII, 11-14: Numbers XII, 13; XIV, 14-20), by Hannah (I Samuel II, 1-11); by David (I Chronicles XXIX, 10-20), besides the Psalms ascribed to him; and by Solomon (I Kings VIII, 23-53). We are told that after the victory of King Jechoshaphat over his enemies, the people gathered in a valley which was later called Emek Berakah (Valley of Blessing), for there they blessed and praised God. Berakah and Tefillah are the terms most frequently used in the Bible for blessing and prayer, respectively. We also find the terms Hallel (praise) and Shebach (Adoration) mentioned in the Bible. The number and frequency of the terms shows us that prayer was prevalent in Israel in early times, but it had not yet become an institution determined as to time, number and form. Of public spiritual worship and a Prayer Book for this purpose, there is no record until both were innovated by the Hebrews sometime during their Second Commonwealth. In discussing the Hebrew Prayer Book, a word must be said about the Synagogue—the institution out of which this book developed.

Religious life among the ancient Hebrews in Palestine revolved around the Temple and the sacrificial rite which was performed by the priests. This was done in the name of an individual or the people of the land as a whole. The

various sacrifices were accompanied by a prayer by the priest and hymns by the Levites who were the musicians and singers. There is specific provision for certain prayers to be recited in connection with the Temple ritual as, for example, the prayer text to be recited on bringing the ripe fruits to the Temple (Deut. 26:1-11). We are given the text of the ancient blessing which the priests recited over the children of Israel (Numbers 6:22-27). An ancient tradition (m. Yomo VI, 2) tells us that when the priest pronounced the holy name of God the people assembled uttered the prayer, "Praised be His glorious name forever and ever." Informal personal prayers must have accompanied many of the sacrifices, particularly the Tomid, the regular daily sacrifices. The Mishnah (m. Tomid VII, 3) tells that during the song of the Levites which followed the morning sacrifices in the Temple, the people prostrated themselves. Ben Sirach, describing the Temple service, speaks of this prostration by the people present in the Temple courts during the sacrifice and adds (Ecclesiasticus 50:19): "And the people besought the Lord the most high by prayer, formal prayer, during the time of the first Temple, was limited to the participants in the sacrificial offerings and lay individuals that represented the people in the sacrificial rite. There was no official form of prayer for the people at large at the time of the first Temple. Thus we see that the nucleus of prayers already existed during the First Temple.

Prayer reached its highest development in ancient Israel with Jeremiah. "He was rightly characterized as the first suppliant known in the history of religion," writes Cornill: "the father of true prayer," says Wellhausen. The latter continues: "Under pain and tribulations the personal communion with his God dawned upon him; he gave birth to the deepest essence of piety. . . . His book contains not only speeches and prophecies, but sometimes also confessions of personal troubles and desperate struggles. The thing that moved and sustained him also moved and sustained the

noblest spirits of Judaism. Without Jeremiah the psalms could never have been composed."

"The psalms of the Old Testament," says Friedrich Heiler, "are in their most inner substance nothing else save Jeremiah's prayerful life transformed into prayer-poetry. The down cast Jewish community in exile and thereafter pours out its unutterable pain in songs and prayer, and likewise its imperishable faith. Like Jeremiah whose prophetic book became its gospel, the community of Israel worked itself out of fear and despair in the present to victorious confidence and to a hope in the future . . . 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me.' Jeremiah was the first to experience this, and he obtained it by his battles for himself and for the children of God after him."

In Deut. 26:5-10, 12-15 we hear for the first time that when offering his first ripe fruit, the laymen is supposed to utter a prayer by himself—not the priest, as the Priestly Code usually prescribes. This democratic attitude to permit the participation of laymen in the service of the sanctuary was evidently the fruit of consistent prophetic preaching.

It has been generally maintained that during the Babylonian exile Israel developed a deep yearning for prayer and instruction in the word of the Divine.

Ezekiel tells us that the elders of the people would come to him to inquire of God (Ezek. 14.1 and 20.1). It is in these visits to the prophet, to inquire about God, that we have the germ of the Synagogue. At each meeting with the prophet, and after listening to his inspired words, they were moved to offer a prayer unto God.

With the increase of knowledge of the prophetic teachings among the people, it became clear to them that it is not only the priest who has access to God, but every man, the high and the low, may approach God without an intermediator. They found that even according to the Torah, a service without sacrifice and outside the Temple at

Jerusalem was as acceptable to God as the sacrifices in the Temple and perhaps even more so. The commandment "To love your God and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut. 11.13) they interpreted to mean, to serve Him with prayer and through the study of His Law. Thus worship through prayer developed.

Upon their return from Babylon, the Jews—continued their new mode of worship through prayer and for this purpose built in every city, town and hamlet a place where the people could gather to pray together. This set place for worship was given the name of House of Assembly (Beth Hakneset). Because they also used it for study they referred to it as the House of Study or (Beth Hamidrash).

With the passing of time, the Synagogue assumed even more importance in the eyes of the populace than the Holy Temple. The Synagogue unlike the Temple which was associated with the priests became the people's institution.

The Pharisees developed and perfected the Synagogue, raised it to a position of prominence, gave it a central place in the religious life of the people. The Pharisees gave meaning to an ancient prophetic idea—that the multitude of sacrifices is to no purpose unto God and that He delights not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs or of he goats (Isa. 1.11) and that burnt offerings are not acceptable to Him (Jer. 6.20).

So strong was the people's interest in the new mode of worship, that they introduced a Synagogue in the very precinct of the Temple.

While the Temple functionaries carried on as usual, the masses established a ritual of their own. This ritual consisted of public worship through prayer—a direct approach to God from the heart instead of worship by representation. For a definite service schedule, they set their time of worship to coincide with the sacrificial rite in the Temple. Later on, they fixed a schedule of their own. What of their prayers? Where were they to get them? After all, there was some sort

of a background of prayers that was current for personal petitions; there was also the ritualistic prayers employed by the priests and a limited public form of worship used by the Maamodoth at the time of the Second Temple. Hence they drew their prayers from all the familiar sources—the Psalms, the Torah, the Mishnah, the Talmud, etc. Later, as the needs grew, the more gifted ones among them composed what they needed. Whatever prayers they used, they properly arranged for the different occasions. This constituted the nucleus of the Hebrew Prayer Book.

The Character of the Prayer Book

The character of the Hebrew Prayer Book may be said to be dynamic as the Jewish religion, as life itself. Unlike the Bible, it was never canonized and unlike the Talmud it never ended. The Prayer Book, therefore grew with the people and changed as conditions and circumstances changed. Prayers were added and dropped without much ado.

Influence of the Prayer Book

Even though the Torah was regarded as God's word and was constantly studied, and though many of the Torah precepts became the daily practice of the Jews, yet it cannot compare with the influence and hold the Prayer Book had over the majority of them. The Torah was read on Sabbaths, holidays, and briefly on Mondays and Thursdays during the worship hour; but the Prayer Book was read three times daily in the Synagogue aside from its daily use in the home. Through constant repetition of the daily prayers many Jews were able to recite sections of the Prayer Book by rote. Each prayer delivered a message to them that sank into the heart. Through the Torah the Jews became acquainted with God's will. Through the Prayer Book they stood before Him as man to man, spoke to Him, bared their wants before Him

and thanked Him for His beneficence. Out of the Bible and Talmud, the Jews drew inspiration and enlightenment, but out of the Prayer Book they took hope, courage and faith, which they desperately needed for the hostile world in which they found themselves most of the time.

Not every Jew had the ability to fully appreciate the Bible or Talmud, but no special talent was required to read the simple Hebrew prayers out of the Prayer Book. The Bible was translated into the vernacular of many nations. The Prayer Book, until modern times, remained in Hebrew and acted not only as a common bond between the Jews of every land, but like no other symbol it reminded them of their common origin, history, ideals and destiny. Through the Prayer Book, Jews were linked to each other and all linked to God. No Hebrew book did more to keep the waters of Judaism fresh and the fires of Judaism burning than did the Prayer Book.

Christendom too, owes no small debt to the Jews for their Prayer Book. Christianity was taking root about the time when the Synagogue was more and more the fashion and spiritual worship the popular approach to God. Both the Synagogue, and Prayer Book, were two powerful Hebrew institutions without which Christianity could not have survived. Any idea that is meant for the welfare of a group will not reach it and certainly will not be preserved by the group unless and until it is institutionalized. Through an institution an idea lives, is transmitted, and if worthwhile, is perpetuated. Christianity, in its early days, needed an institution for disseminating its doctrines and belief. The Synagogue was there to serve it and the Prayer Book, which was yet in its embryonic stage, was available at the time to help keep the first Christians together. In brief, both Judaism and Christianity, through the centuries, received a great deal of their life blood from the Synagogue and Hebrew Prayer Book.

THE PROPHETIC INFLUENCE ON PHARISAIC ETHICS AS REFLECTED IN THE HALACHA

Ethical Principles

The Prophets spiritualized the Jewish religion. They opened new avenues of thought. They directed the minds and hearts of the people to a better way of life, and higher thinking. They illuminated with their eloquent messages, the moral and ethical laws expressed in the Torah. However, their messages were easier to listen to than to implement in every day-living. Their words and pleadings remained as a challenge and charge.

The Pharisees, the Rabbis, were intent on capturing the spirit of the great, elevating, teachings of the prophets. Their lessons were too valuable, too precious, to be permitted to evaporate, to be forgotten. A way had to be found to preserve their spirit and reduce their ideals to practicality. The people had to be shown that what the prophets demanded was within the power of man to give; that their beautiful words could be translated into equally beautiful and worthy deeds. But how was the will of God to be carried out? How were the words of the prophets to be made effective. The Pharisees conceived a way. The Pharisees saw that the best way of incorporating the prophetic ideals and moral teachings into the lives of the people was through Halacha (Law). Thus the Pharisaic laws are charged with ethical content, with the spirit of prophetism. Halacha became applied prophecy. Hence the saying, "Prophecy was taken from the prophets

and given to the Wise and it was not taken away from these." The Prophets sought to inspire man to do good and holding aloft noble visions. The Rabbis tried to lead men toward the realization of the ideals and visions by training them in the exercise of such good deeds that are expressive of high ideals. Both were dedicated to the same purpose, to make men understand what God demanded of them. The Purpose of the Halacha then was to go towards the goal—the ethical ideals held up by the prophets. The ideals being more or less ultimate goals were not always approachable. At times the Rabbis had to be satisfied with merely approximating the ideal. However, they believed that a constant training in the exercise of right conduct and continuous practice of right deeds, would eventually instill in the heart of a man the right principles by which to govern his life and thus bring him nearer to the realization of the ideal. "A man" said the Rabbis, "should occupy himself with the study of the Torah and the practice of good deeds, even though at first he is not animated by the most ideal motives. In the end he will perform these acts for their own sake"—(Pes. 50b).

Some Examples of Ethics in the Halacha

On The Value Of Human Life. The Halacha pertaining to human life makes it clear to what degree human life is valued. Every human being the Rabbis taught is considered as a world. For did not the world begin with one human being? Hence he who destroys one life, it is considered as if he destroyed the whole world. And by the same token he who saves a life it is regarded as if he saved the world (M. Sanh. 4. 5). The Halacha therefore teaches that all the laws of the Torah must be ignored when the life and health of a human being is concerned (Yoma 28a). There should be no hesitation in transgressing the law, the Halacha further

states, even if it is doubtful whether the life in question can be saved (M. Yoma 8. 6).

In stressing the value of human life, the Halacha aims to teach two definite principles. One is the furtherance of the cause of humanity and the other is to teach that every human being is capable of contributing toward the cause of humanity and thus helping in the realization of God's plan.

On Health

Since life is to be prized and sacrifices are to be made to save it, it follows that health must equally be guarded and conserved. The Halacha, therefore, teaches that a person owes the same duty to his life and his health as he owes to the life and health of the other. Caring for one's body and keeping it in good health is considered a religious duty (Leviticus 34.3).

In the case of one who sees no purpose to his life and believes himself to be a burden to society he has no right to dispose of his life. Suicide is strongly condemned by the Halacha and is considered as an act of murder (B.K. 91b).

On Respect for Property

No matter how affluent one may be, he is cautioned by the Halacha to use his wealth discreetly and guard against squandering it. Even though he has a right to his wealth of whatever it consists, he must use it wisely lest he become a burden to others and cause harm to his family and all who depend on him (Ket. 50a).

Cases Involving Human Dignity

"The honor and personal dignity of any human are to be so highly regarded as to set side any prohibitory law of the

Torah"—(Shab. 81b) says the Halacha. Thus, if the observance of a ritual is apt to cause embarrassment or subject one to indignity, that ritual may be dispensed with.

In punishing an individual the Halacha warns the judges to be careful not to add insult or disgrace to that which he had already suffered by his act (Mak. 22b).

Regarding the relationship between master and slave, the Halakah warns the master not to assign to the servant low or degrading work (Mekilta, Mishpatism, 1, Weiss 81b). The Halakah further enjoins that the servant must be given the same kind of food and drink of which the master partakes (Kid. 20a). The servant is to be treated as a fellow man in all respects. In this Halacha, both the element of human dignity and personal feelings are taken into consideration.

On Partnership

The Halacha in relation to partnership aims to promote friendly relations and to help them settle differences between them peacefully. Thus it declares that if one of two partners desires to dissolve the partnership, and the business or property can equally be divided, one can force the other to divide, providing the value of each half does not depreciate. If, however, the business or property cannot be divided without suffering depreciation, then one partner cannot force the other to divide. In such a case an equitable price is set upon the property the partner wishes to dispose of and he can force either his partner to buy it from him or he can then sell it to another (Mishnah B.B. 1.6).

The Halacha also states, that a partner is prohibited from selling his share of the business to a stranger before consulting his other partner (B.M. 108a).

The intent of the Halacha in these instances is the fostering of good will. The aim and purpose of the entire Torah is to enhance good-fellowship among men (Git. 59b).

On Competition in Business

If an article is being considered for purchase by one, the Halacha forbids another from bidding on the same article (Kid. 59a).

According to the Halacha consideration must be given to a business such as a barber shop or tailor shop that is established in a certain neighborhood, by one who is seeking to open a similar business in the same area. Since the new shop may take away business from the one which already exists—a fellow-man will thereby be hurt. This consideration however, does not apply according to the Halacha to stores which supply the necessities of life (B.B. 21b). In the latter case the opening of new stores may act as a wholesome influence upon the monopolization of trade by any one store on the street. The Halacha does not overlook the value of competition to the poor consumer who might get the necessities of life as cheaply as possible.

On Fair Business Practices

The Halacha prohibits the export of articles of food to foreign countries for fear that the shortage of such articles at home may cause a rise in their price and which would result in hardship on the consumer particularly the poor. The Halacha also provides for the regulating of prices on food stuffs (B.B. 90a). The teachers even wished to prohibit the making of profits from the sale of food stuffs. They probably considered the elimination of the middleman. The Halacha condemns the practice of adulterating food (Mekilta, Mishpatim, XIII; Weiss, 96a) and the selling of articles under false labels (Hul. 94a).

The "shopping" customer is condemned by the Halacha. "If," says the Halacha, "you have no intention of buying do not ask the price" (Behar. Iv, Weiss, 107d) and in the same spirit the would be buyer is told not to bargain if

he does not have the money to buy (M. B.M. 4.10; Tosefta, 3.25). Both, the business man, as well as the consumer or customer, were carefully considered by the Halacha as demonstrated by the examples above. On both sides, the ethical principle is clear and concise. Rights and privileges were clearly defined and the proper type of conduct taught.

On Justice

In such dealings and acts which do not infringe upon civil law but violate the moral law, the Halacha states: "He is free according to the laws of men, but guilty according to the judgments of God" (Tosefta Shebu. 3; B.K. 55b).

On Neighborliness

In the case of a person's property adjoining that of his neighbour, and the person wishes to dispose of his property, according to the Halacha, he is to make the sale available to his neighbor first, before offering it to a third party. The Halacha is based on Deut. 6.18: "And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord." The teachers of the Halakah believed that it would be displeasing to God if one should not give his neighbour preference over a stranger.

On Vows

A person who makes a vow under an illusion concerning facts or out of fear of consequences, the vow is voidable after the court found the above conditions to be true. The following is the procedure of the court in examining and exonerating the maker of the vow: The court says to the one who made the vow "If you had known that in taking such a vow "you were violating the law, 'Thou shalt not avenge

or bear any grudge' (Lev. 19.18), and the law, 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart' (ibid. 19.17), and the law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' (ibid. 19.18) and the law commanding you to give assistance to the poor, expressed in the words of Lev. 25.36, 'That he may live with thee.' Did you consider that the person against whom you vowed might become poor and thus you would be prevented from rendering succor unto him?" If he says, "Had I known all this I would not have vowed"—that man is free from his vow. What stronger proof do we need than the examples quoted, that the Rabbis were always animated by the highest ideals. We may disagree with them as to the whole subject of vows, but we must admire the high moral plane whereon they discussed this purely formalistic subject.

Of course all this may appear primitive in the eyes of the modern Jew. But the point to bear in mind is the high principle underlying the Halakah. The Rabbis in every case were animated by the loftiest ideals. They were in every instance motivated to enact such laws which would further peace and good will among all men Jew and Gentile alike.

On Promoting Good Will Among Non-Jews

There is a Halacha which calls for charity to non-Jews—that we should offer them help in burying their dead, that we should attend to their funerals, eulogize their dear departed ones and console their mourners in order that good will may prevail among all men (M. Git. 5. 8, and Tosefta, 5.4-5).

On Charity

Charity, according to the Rabbis was acting justly. He who is blessed with abundance is an agent of the Lord. Both he and his belong to God. In dispensing charity, he is

merely acting for God. And, in acting for God, he is doing what he is supposed to do, what is expected of him, what is right and just (Ab. 3.8).

The Value of Halacha

"The creations of the Halakah" says H. N. Byalik, "do not possess the unity of matter, place and time like the creations of the arts, of architecture, sculpture or music. They take shape very gradually, slowly gathering in line after line from the entire course of man's life and deed, and presenting at the end one grand aggregate.

"Halakah is the art of education, the pedagogy of an entire people; and all its teachings are determined by the Holy Spirit in man, by a divine wisdom which sees the remotest future in the present, the end in the beginning, Day by day, hour after hour, the Halakah is busy perfecting just one form; the true likeness of man, the image of God in man."

Halacha In Our Day

Even though in our day our lives are guided mostly by the laws of the land in which we live, yet, the Halacha which regulated Jewish life for centuries is not completely abandoned. In our ceremonies, our worship, in the observance of our festivals, we are still guided by Halacha. True, rituals and ceremonials are not observed to the letter of the Halacha. Changes have been introduced, modifications made, and are constantly being made, but these innovations and changes are provided for by the Halacha itself (Yeb. 89b and 90b). It rests with the teachers of each generation, according to the Talmud, to determine whether the cause of Judaism will be furthered by the abolition of certain ritual or ceremonial laws. They have the authority to abolish even a biblical law (Yeb. 89b and 90b).

Jewish life, as we have seen through the study of Pharisaism, has never been static. The very nature of Judaism is based on change and adaptability. And, because of this characteristic of Judaism, it never became outdated. Judaism has its message for every generation. Thus we say in our prayers: "From generation to generation we declare Thy greatness and throughout all ages proclaim Thy holiness; Thy praise shall never cease from our lips" (Prayer Book).

THE PROPHETIC INFLUENCE ON PHARISAIC ETHICS AS REFLECTED IN THE HAGGADAH

The Halacha gives the law; it points to a way; it gives the direction. It does not, however, go into an explanation as to how the teachers arrived at their decisions. The ethical principle upon which a Halacha is predicated is not given. It needs to be grasped. The Haggadah on the other hand, teaches ethics directly. It points out why one is expected to conduct himself in a certain manner. The ethics of the Haggadah conditions the heart for the Halacha. It sheds light on the reasoning behind the Halacha. The Halacha becomes understandable through the Haggadah. While the Haggadah does not deal with the law, it concerns itself with the virtues and vices of man and seeks to develop his virtues. Haggadah represents the spirit of the Halacha. It adds warmth, purpose, and life to the Halacha, which by itself may at times appear hard and exacting. The ethics of the one, nevertheless, is the ethics of the other. What Haggadah expresses, Halacha implies. Both are concerned with the execution of God's will. Haggadah is the theory of doing, and Halacha the application of the theory. Haggadah is the preparatory exercise for the actual performance. In the Halacha—the words are few. In precise words it states the duty and the penalty. In the Haggadah words are copious, illustrations many, inspiring, uplifting, promising the great rewards which flow from doing what is good and proper in the eyes of God and man.

JUSTICE. The administration of public justice the Rabbis warned must be without respect of persons. In a case in which one of the parties is a poor man and the other rich, the judges must not favor the poor man because he is poor, nor show regard to the other because he is rich, but decide between them with impartial justice (Lev. 19, 15; Exod. 23, 3). And, not only in the decision but in the whole procedure the parties are to be treated without partiality. The Rabbis enjoined the litigants appear in court in an equal way. They ruled that if one of the litigants is dressed in fine clothes and the other shabbily, the judge must say to the one who is better dressed, "Either dress your opponent like yourself, or you put on clothes similar to his" (Shebuoth 30a).

According to the Rabbis, Justice was one of the pillars of society. Two other pillars which they considered of equal importance are Truth and Peace. Justice according to Judaism is the cornerstone of morality. As the Psalmist says, "Righteousness and justice are the foundation of Thy throne" (89, 15).

Peace

The Hebrew Shalom (peace) has a wider meaning than the English 'peace': For the individual it is welfare of every kind, sound health, prosperity, security, contentment and the like. In the relations of men to their fellows it is that harmony without which the welfare of the individual or the community is impossible; aggression, enmity, strife, are destructive of welfare, as external and internal peace is its fundamental condition. It is peace in the relation of men to one another, that Judaism promulgates in a variety of ways. "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind and drawing them to the Law (religion)" (Abot 1, 12). Moses it is said was for uncom-

promising justice—but Aaron loved peace and pursued it, and made peace between a man and his fellow, as it is written, "He walked with Me in peace and uprightness, and turned many away from iniquity" (Mal. 2, 6) (Sanh. 6b).

"Great is the effect of peace upon the life of a people," said Rabbi Judah the Prince, "for even when Israel worshipped idols, as long as peace reigned among them God did not punish them, for it is said, Emphraim is joined to idols, let him alone" (Hosea XIV, 17) (Genesis R. ch. 38).

On the priest's benediction, 'The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace' (Num. 6,26), the Sifre has collected encomiums on peace by a long series of teachers each beginning: Great is peace! and citing Scripture to prove how highly it is esteemed by God and how excellent a gift of His to men (Sifre Num. 42 ed. Friedman 12b. 13a). The importance of the subject in the eyes of later generations is shown by the fact that the passage is substantially repeated in several of the Midrashim (Lev. R. 9, 9; Num. R. 11, 7; Deut. R. 5, 15).

The prophet directed men's minds toward the day when violence and cruelty in all their forms will vanish from the earth.

"The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
And the calf and the young lion and the fatling together;
And a little child shall lead them.
And the cow and the bear shall feed;
Their young ones shall lie down together;
And the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp,
And the weaned child shall put his hand on basilisk's den.
They shall not hurt nor destroy
In all My holy mountain,
For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord,
As the waters cover the seas" (Isa. 11,6).

Not content with creating this aspiration, the prophet indicates the way toward its realization. The path to the goal is clearly defined in the verse: "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence forever" (Isa. 32. 17).

Peace according to the Rabbis is the goal of the entire Torah. As it is written: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace" (Proverbs 3, 17) (Gitin 59b).

On Truth, Hypocrisy, and Slander

Truth belongs to the integrity of a godly man-truth not only in speech or in fidelity to a word given, but in his whole character and deportment.

Very strong language is used by the Rabbis about hypocrisy and the fate of hypocrites. They are of the classes that cannot come into the presence of God. R. Eliazar (ben Pedat) is emphatic. Every man in whom there is hypocrisy brings (God's) wrath upon the world (Job 36, 13); not only that . . . he is cursed by (all mankind) even by unborn infants in their mother's womb (Prov. 24, 24).

Sincerity

A community in which hypocrisy exists is as disgusting as a menstruous rag (Job 15, 34); such a community will finally go into exile (Job 15, 34, and Isa. 49, 21) (Sotah 41 b 42a) "There are three that God hates: The man who says one thing with the mouth and another in the mind; the one who could give testimony in another's case and does not give it; and the one who sees some scandalous sin in another and testifies to it singly" (Pesahim 113b).

In the eyes of the Rabbis flattery is a form of hypocrisy. The obligation to speak the truth is most emphasized in the warning against false witness and against starting or retailing slander, in cases where a falsehood obviously injures another man in his material interests or his good name.

"The serpent was asked, 'All animals the wolf and other carnivorous animals kill in order to eat. What profit hast thou of your striking and poisoning other creatures?' Answered the snake, 'Go to the slanderer and ask him the same question. He, likewise has no gain from his action; maybe he will offer a reason for his action' " (P. Talmud Peach p. 16). The implication is that the biting serpent and the injury of the slanderer emanate from the same evil inclination. The effect of the serpent's work is pointed out by the Rabbis in another form: "The serpent" they say was asked again, "Why is it that thou strikest only one organ, but thy poison affects all other organs?" Answered the serpent, "Ask the slanderer to offer an explanation for the fact that he utters his slanderous words in Rome, but the injurious effect is felt by a man who lives in Syria, or vice versa" (Deut. Rabba, ch. 5). These warnings to restrain the tongue from speaking evil against another no doubt left its impress on many a Jewish soul.

Charity and Love of Neighbour

The injunction of liberality is finely put in Deut. 15, 11: The needy will never disappear from the land; therefore I command thee, open thy hand to thy poor and needy brother in thy land. How a good man fulfilled his duty to those who needed his help is ideally described in Job 29, 12-16: 'I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless also that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed itself with me; my justice was a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the needy, and the cause of him that I knew not I searched out.'

Or again (31, 16-22, 29-32): 'If I have withheld aught that the poor desired, or have caused the eyes of the widow

to fail; or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof—Nay, from my youth he grew up with me as with a father, and I have been her guide from my mother's womb. If I have seen any wanderer in want of clothing, or that the needy had no covering; if his loins have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep; if I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless, because I saw my help in the gate: then let my shoulder fall from the shoulder-blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone.'

'If I rejoice at the destruction of him that hated me, or exulted when evil found him—Yea, I suffered not my mouth to sin by asking his life with a curse. If the men of my tent said not, Who can find one that hath not been satisfied with his meat? The stranger did not lodge in the street; my doors I opened to the roadside.'

To one who has means but withholds relief from the needy, God says: "Keep in mind that it is I that made him poor and thee rich; I can send reverses on thee and make thee poor" (Tanhuma ed. Buber Mishpatim 8).

The high estimate put on deeds of loving kindness by the Rabbis might be illustrated by many quotations. More significant than any such accumulations of eulogium, however, is a passage in Sifre in which it sums up the whole of the manward side of religion. On the words, 'If they were wise, they would consider this' (Deut. 32, 29), the comment runs: "If Israel would consider the words of the Law that was given to them, no nation or kingdom would have dominion over them (see vs. 30). And what does it (the Law) say to them? Take upon you the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven, and try to excel one another in the fear of Heaven; and conduct yourselves one to another with loving kindness."

The first two clauses comprehend that part of religion which has to do with man's relation to God. "The yoke of the kingdom of Heaven" is the acknowledgment of God's

sole sovereignty and of the obligation to love him with mind and soul and substance, which man makes when he recites the Shema' (Deut. 6, 4)—the daily renewed profession of his religion. The second clause carries this religion into practice as it is summarized in Deut. 10, 12 f.: 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to revere the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; to keep for thy good the commandments of the Lord and his statutes which I command thee this day.' Try to excel one another in an obedience to God's revealed will, inspired by reverence and love.

The Midrash condenses into one clause what religion requires of men in their relations to one another. This part of Sifre is from the school of R. Akiba, who found in Lev. 19, 18, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' the most comprehensive principle of the Law (SIFRA, KEDOSHIM Perek 4 ed. WEISS f 89b). The word translated 'neighbour' is 'RE'A' and the question is what did 'RE'A' mean to the writer of the passage. It is said in the same chapter (XV 33, 34): 'And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not do him wrong. The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt, I am the Lord your God.' The word translated 'stranger' is 'GER,' not 'RE'A' but precisely the same commandment is given in respect of both, viz., 'Thou shalt love . . . as thyself. It seems that 'RE'A' cannot in this passage be more restricted in meaning than 'GER.' If it were, if it meant 'thou shalt love thy fellow Israelite as thyself,' and no one else, then it would be a contradiction to add, 'thou shall love the'GER' as thyself.' Moreover if it be insisted on that 'RE'A' means fellow Israelite and no one else then 'thou shalt love the stranger as thyself' would have been the more inclusive commandment, and therefore the one naturally singled out as the supreme commandment of its kind. It is

accordingly clear that in the text 'Thou shalt love thy 'RE'A' as thyself' 'RE'A' cannot mean less than what 'GER' means; and 'GER' means one who lives among people not of his own race or language or religion, as the Israelite himself was a 'GER' in the land of Egypt. What constituted the Egyptian a 'GER' would constitute a man of any other nation a 'GER' and thus 'RE'A' would be properly used of any and every such person; in other words, 'RE'A' (In Lev. 19, 18) means—'fellow man.'

The Value of the Haggadah

The Haggadah has been described as a complement to the Halacha. Alone it could not have withstood the pressure of historical events. Since Haggadah deals with generalities it was insufficient as a sustaining religious guide; nor could the Halacha endure without the Haggadah, which gave it the impetus of emotion, faith, reverence, and reinforced its ethical foundation. Haggadah recognized change in conditions and inspired Halacha to meet the ever changing conditions which the Jews faced in the various periods of their history.

CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH REACTIONS TO PHARISAIC TEACHINGS

Christians, who view Judaism from the outside, have described it as a dry, legalistic, mechanical and burdensome routine. Judaism, they say, lacks spirituality. Through the laws, they declare, God in Judaism has become a stranger to the idea of love and that there can be no fellowship with Him; that there is no opportunity for any immediate experience by which the human soul comes to partake of Him; that there is no incoming of Him into human life. And where there is none of these, there can be no genuine religious spirit. In Judaism, they say, the multitudinous commandments, rituals, and ceremonies, are a substitute for what true religion should be.

The Prophets, according to Christian criticism were the true representatives of God. Their understanding of religion and God were corrupted by the teachings of the Pharisees. Pharisaism narrowed the scope of religon. It emphasized outwardness by allegiance to laws and practices, rather than stressing inwardness as the Prophets did.

These criticisms are based upon a study of Judaism by its outer garb; as it presents itself through the shell, without catching a glimpse of its spirit, its dynamic, motivating force. It is a valid criticism perhaps of the body of Judaism but not of its soul. The privilege of seeing Judaism from the inside has been reserved for its adherents and professors.

"Christian critics" says Jacob Lauterbach "despite their learning and scholarship, cannot rid themselves of the pre-

judice which they imbibed from the polemical writings of the New Testament against the Pharisaic teachers of the Halacha. Without a comprehensive knowledge of rabbinic-literature and without a thorough going understanding of the Halakic teachings, they proceed to judge the entire Halakah by a few quotations found in the works written by opponents of the Halacha and enemies of the Rabbis.

. . . "Christianity has accepted the text of Lev. 19, 18, without the commentary, the golden rule without the whole system of its practical application. The Law was declared as abrogated, Paul, said, 'All the Law is fulfilled in one word' (Gal. 5.14). But the result was that the so-called fulfillment of the Law remained merely a word. The love preached by Christianity did not prove to be that love which 'worked no ill to his neighbour' " (Rom. 13.10).

To ascertain whether Judaism, with its many demanding and exacting practices, rituals and commandments, was really a burden to its adherents, and served to remove rather than bring them near to godliness, we must enquire of the carriers of the burden themselves. For this purpose we shall dip into that literature in which the so called burdened speak.

"God was pleased to favor and ennoble Israel" says R. Hananya b. A Kashya, "therefore he gave them a Torah with numerous commandments" (MAK. 23b).

The Rabbis refer to the author of the Torah and its commandments as the God who because of His mercy and great love gave the people of Israel these commandments which should help them to lead a noble and pure life.

They did not think of Him merely as a stern Law giver who issues decrees for purposes of His own pleasure. They realized that God has no profit in these laws and no other purpose than to further the welfare of His creatures. "For, indeed, what difference does it make to God," ask the Rabbis, "how we slaughter an animal, or what kind of food we partake, except that He desires by such laws and regulations to benefit His creatures, to purify their hearts, and

to ennoble their character" (Tanhuma, Shemini, Buber, 30, also Gen. R. 44.1).

How anxious a Jew was to carry out a law, to observe a precept, to perform a "Mitzvoh," and what joy he felt in fulfilling it, may be seen from the following: According to Deut. 24-19, a sheaf forgotten in the harvest field belonged to the poor; the proprietor being forbidden to go again and to fetch it. This prohibitive law was called—"the commandment with regard to forgetfulness." It was impossible to fulfill it as long as one thought of it. In connection with this we read in the Tosefta: "It happened to a Hasid (saint) that he forgot a sheaf in his field, and thus was enabled to fulfill the commandment with regard to forgetfulness. Whereupon he bade his son to go to the Temple, and offer for him a burnt-offering and a peace-offering, whilst he also gave a great banquet to his friends in honor of the event. Thereupon his son said to him: 'Father, why dost thou rejoice in this commandment more than in any other law prescribed in the Torah?' He answered that it was the occurrence of the rare opportunity of accomplishing the will of God, even as the result of some oversight, which caused him so much delight" (Tosefta Peah, 22 and also Midrash Zuta ed. Buber, 51b).

Though the Rabbis never tired of urging the belief in reward and punishment, and strove to make of it a living conviction, they yet displayed a constant tendency to disregard it as a motive for action. The saying of Antigonos of Socho, "Be not like servants that serve their master with the view to receive reward," (Aboth 1:3), is well known. But we must not look upon this saying of Antigonos as on one of those theological paradoxes in which divines of all creeds occasionally indulge. It is a sentiment running through the Rabbinic literature of almost every age. Thus the words in Deut. 11, 13, "To love the Lord your God," are explained to mean: "Say not, I will study the Torah

with the purpose of being called sage or Rabbi, or to acquire fortune, or to be rewarded for it in the world to come; but do it for the sake of thy love to God, though the glory will come in the end" (Sifre, 84a). The words in Ps. 112, 1, "Blessed is the man who delighteth greatly in his commandments," are interpreted to mean, that he is blessed who delighteth in God's commandments, but not in the reward promised for his commandments (Abodah Zarah, 19a).

The real motive of the enthusiasm for the Law must be sought in other sources than the hope of reward. Those who keep the commandments of God are his lovers. And when the lover is asked, Why art thou carried away to be burned, stoned, or crucified? he answers, Because I have studied the Torah, or, Because I have circumcised my son, or, Because I have kept the Sabbath; but he considers the suffering as wounds inflicted upon him for the sake of his beloved one, and his love is returned by the love of God (Mechilta, 68b). The Law is thus a means of strengthening the mutual relations of love between God and his people (See Mechilta, 98a). The fulfillment of the Law was, in the eyes of the Rabbis a witnessing on the part of the Jews to God's relationship to the world. "Why does this man," they say, "refrain from work on the Sabbath? why does he close his business on the seventh day? He does so in order to bear witness to the fact of God's creation of the world, and to his providence over it" (See Mechilta, 104a). The Law, according to the Rabbis, was a source of holiness. Each new commandment with which God blesses Israel adds holiness to his people; but it is holiness which makes Israel to be God's own (Ibid. 98a). They deduce this doctrine from Exod. 20: 30, which verse they explain to mean that it is the fact of Israel being holy men which gives them the privilege of belonging to God. Hence the formula in many benedictions: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, . . . who

has sanctified us by thy commandments, and found delight in us" (Baer, p. 198). Another version of the same sort is, "Beloved are the commandments by which the Holy One, blessed be he, exalted the seed of his friend Abraham and gave them unto Israel with the purpose of beautifying and glorifying them; whilst Israel, his holy people, and his inheritance, glorify his name for the commandments and statutes he gave them. And it is because of these commandments that Israel is called holy." These reasons, namely, the motive of love, the privilege of bearing witness to God's relationship to the world, the attainment of holiness in which the Law educated Israel, as well as the other spiritual motives which I have already pointed out, such as the joy felt by the Rabbis in the performance of the Law and the harmony which the Rabbis perceived in the life lived according to the Torah, were the true sources of Israel's enthusiasm for the Law.

In all fairness it must be said that the Pharisaic attempt to create and develop a community fully governed by the ideals of the prophets did not result in complete success. And, the claim that Pharisaism did succeed in its aim was never made. To the contrary, the Pharisaic teachers themselves make it clear that there were among them individuals who were hypocrites, and others whose sole ambition was to perform the rituals with little or no regard for the spirit which the ritual symbolized. In other words, Judaism to them meant one thing: do what is prescribed by the law—and forget about its higher purpose if there is any.

Seven types of Pharisees are mentioned in the Talmud of which only one finds favour in the eyes of the Rabbis: "There are seven kinds of Pharisee:—the "Shikhmi" (hunchback) Pharisee, the "quizzai" (Bookkeeping) Pharisee, the "niqpi" (knocker or borrower) Pharisee, the "m'dokhya" (pestle-like) Pharisee, the "what is my obligation and I will do it" Pharisee, the Pharisee who is "one from fear" and

the Pharisee "who is one from love" (Sota 22b; also J. Sota V. 7, J. Brerachoth LX, 7).

The Talmud dislikes them all with the one exception of the "Pharisee who is one from love." Be that as it may, it does not follow that the Pharisees as a whole were made up of hypocrites. That this was not the case may be shown from an ancient passage attributed to Alexander Jannaeus—the great enemy of the Pharisees: King Jannaeus said to his wife, "Fear not the Pharisees nor them that are not Pharisees, but fear rather the hypocrites which are like unto the Pharisees, whose deeds are as the deeds of Zimri and who seek the reward like Phineas" (Sotah 22b);—showing that Pharisaism and hypocrisy were not the same thing, but that there were hypocrites among the Pharisees and also among the Sadducees, just as there were, and are, and will be, in every religion and sect and party the world over.

"What would be thought by Christian scholars," says Joseph Klausner, "were we to judge Christianity not by its Founder, nor its early fathers and saints who died a martyr's death, but by the many hypocritical and canting Christians who have flourished in every generation?

"A religion and a sect should be judged by the principles it expounds and by the best of its teachers rather than by its unworthy members: it should be judged by the best that it contains and not by the worst. . . . It must be admitted that Pharisaism did, in truth contain one serious defect. . . . This defect was that the Pharisees attached almost as much importance to those commandments dealing with the relations between man and God as to those dealing with the relations between man and his fellow-man (though they insisted that nothing could atone for the breach of the latter, and that if a man had not performed good deeds, his observance of Torah would not avail him nor would ample observance of the ceremonial laws). Hence the Pharisees were far more concerned with the discussion of Halakha, with those commandments dealing with man's

relations to God, than with the others, because the latter seemed to them far more self-evident and simple.

"Yet the casuistry and immense theoretical care devoted to every one of the slightest religious ordinances left them open to the misconception that the ceremonial laws were the main principle and the ethical laws only secondary."

THE PHARISAIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

After the canonization of the Old Testament books about 250 B.C.E., it was followed by another type of literature which is described by the Greek term as Apocryphos from which the term Apocryphal is derived.

Apocrypha means hidden or secret. The term, seems to have been applied to the Apocryphal books in three different usages. First, in the sense of having been excluded from the canon of the Old Testament, for with the close of that canon, no more books were added to it, and all other books which were written either after the close or even before, but were not considered, for some reason or other, worthy to be included in the authorized collection and designated as "Sforim Hitzonim" external books. In time, these excluded books were not as widely circulated as the canonical and were found only in the hands of a few, hence the name Apocrypha, hidden on account of their rarity. Second, it was used in the sense of being hidden away from the eyes of the masses on account of the sacred teaching and the mystic and exotic character of some of them. Later the name was applied to the whole group even to the historical books. Third, the name "hidden" was applied because some of the books were attributed by the writers to personages of Biblical fame, and these books were hidden away until the appointed time for their revelation came.

While it is true that the literature of a period reflects the general conditions of that period, it is also true that a

knowledge of the forces and factors which govern the life of a given time, affords one a clue to the type of literature that can be expected of that time and mileu.

Now what were the conditions which gave rise to the Apocryphal literature? The period from 200 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. in Palestine was on the whole one of tribulation, of suffering, strife, and subjection with only a short span of rest and prosperity.

It began with the entrance of the Jews under the dominion of the Graeco-Syrian Empire, and ended with the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion, embracing, in its midst, the years of the Hasmonean struggle as well as the eight decades of peace under the rule of the princes of that house. In general, the Second Commonwealth of the Jews presents a sorry spectacle, and in no way approaches the glories presaged by the older prophets nor even those foretold by the later, such as Haggai and Zachariah. The political background which presented a sharp incongruity between the future portrayed by the prophets and that of the present, coupled with other factors, gave rise to a number of features which together make up the peculiar spirit of this literature. These features are as follows (a) Moved by deep belief that the promises of the prophets must be fulfilled, contrary state of the present not withstanding, the heart of the faithful yearned for a better future, and the hope for it became to all who were dissatisfied with the present, a passionate longing. No wonder then, that the old Messianic idea forms a leading note in this literature which deals primarily with the future.

(b) The other leading feature is the zeal for the Law of God. The people of Israel, from the time of Ezra on, was transformed from a people struggling towards religion into the religious people par excellence, the Law—Torah—became all important, the very center of life. This zeal for the Law found multifarious expression in Apocryphal literature. On the whole, though, it may be said that the zeal for the

Law is expressed mainly in the Apocrypha, while the hope for the future is the primary motive in the Apocalyptic books.

(c) Another feature which is quite prominent in this literature is the reward of the individual. In Biblical times, the hopes of the individual and his strivings were often repressed by the hope of the future destiny of the nation as a whole.

As times changed and the individual came more and more into his own, during the first centuries of the second Commonwealth, and added to this, there came the persecutions under Syrio-Greek rule, the idea of reward for the individual and the importance of the individual gained greater recognition which was stressed in the new type of literature—the Apocrypha.

Apocryphal literature resorts extensively to the use of symbol and allegory and the use of Biblical verses or even precepts—presented in a manner different from the great collections of the authoritative books. This style and form, differentiate the Apocryphal writing from the Biblical literature, the canonized books.

Summary of the Apocryphal Books:

The Apocrypha are divided into four classes: (a) Historical Books; (b) Legendary and Moral Fiction; (c) Prophetical and Poetic Writings; (d) Didactic. The Historical Books are: 1) I, or III Ezra; (2) Maccabees; (3) II Maccabees; (4) III Maccabees. The legendary and Moral Fiction books are: 1) Tobit; (2) Judith; (3) Bel and the Dragon (Additions to Daniel); (4) Susanna; (5) Additions to Esther. The Prophetic and Poetic Writings are: (1) Prayer of Azariah and Song of Three Children; (2) Prayer of Manasses; (3) Book of Baruch (4)Epistle of Jeremiah. The Didactic Writings are: (1) Wisdom of Sirach; (2) Wisdom of Solomon; (3) Iv Maccabees.

I Ezra

This book which is designated as I Ezra by the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Bible, and III Ezra by the Vulgate the standard Latin, deals with the early history of the Second Commonwealth. It practically covers the same historical events contained in the Biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah with some additions.

The date of the book is indefinite. It is not later than 100 C.E. for it was used by Josephus, but it is most likely much older, as it might have been written in the third century B.C.E. Its original language was either Hebrew or Aramaic. It is now found only in Greek, Latin, and Syraic versions.

I Maccabees

This book covers the history of a period of forty years, from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.E.) to the death of Simon Maccabee (135). The time of its composition seems to have been 137-105 B.C.E. It was written originally in Hebrew. Its original title was probably "Sefer Beth Hashmonai." It has come down to us in the Greek and was preserved by the fact that it was incorporated in the Greek Bible.

This book is the chief historical source for the story of the Jewish struggle for religious and civil independence during this period. It recites briefly the events preceding the Maccabean revolt against Hellenism and Antiochus.

II Maccabees

The second book of Maccabees, according to the testimony of its author is an abridgment of a longer history written by Jason of Cyrene. It is prefaced by two letters written by the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Alexandria

urging them to observe the Feast of Dedication (Hanukah) and meanwhile telling them a story about the holy fire of the Altar, how it was hidden at the time of the exile, and how it was discovered by Nehemiah. II Maccabees differs greatly from I Maccabees in the mode of narrating. It includes the supernatural elements, as for instance, the story of the intervention of Angels in preventing Heliodorus from carrying out the despoliation of the Temple. Some of the stories in the book, such as Hannah and her seven children, are told with the express purpose of arousing the spirit of devotion to the Torah and the faith of the Fathers by inspiring emulation of the deeds of the former saints and heroes. The date of the book is between 108 and 50 B.C.E.

III Maccabees

The third book of Maccabees, in spite of its name, has nothing to do with the Maccabean struggle and can really be considered historical only in form.

The original language of Third Maccabees was Greek. The author of the book was a Jew of Alexandria. The date of his work cannot be conjectured very definitely. It gives evidence of acquaintance with Second Maccabees. It probably was written sometime near the end of the last century B.C.

The content of the book is as follows: Ptolemy IV, after his victory over Antiochus the Great (217 B.C.E.) comes to Jerusalem and desires to enter the Temple. The Jews entreat him not to do so, but he insists. He enters the Temple and is struck by the hand of God. On returning to Egypt, he wishes to wreak his vengeance upon the Jews. At first, he deprives them of their rights, and finally commands that they should be brought to Alexandria in chains. Ptolemy then orders that five hundred elephants be intoxicated and set upon the Jews. When everything is ready and the King approaches the race course with his troops, two angels appear and strike the elephants with terror, so that instead

of turning upon the Jews as they were supposed to do, they turn upon the King's troops. As a result, the King changed his mind and ordered the liberation of the Jews, and henceforth bestowed favors upon them.

The Book of Tobit

The book of Tobit is a moral story which intends to inculcate in us the virtues of honoring the dead and the giving of alms. It aims primarily at the individual and deals with the biography of a pious man named Tobit. The scene of the story is Nineveh, the capitol of Assyria. The date of the book can be tolerably fixed within wide limits. It was written before the Temple of Herod was built, which was about 20 B.C.E. and we can go back about a century and a half, so that the date for the composition of the book ranges between 190 and 20 B.C.E. It has been advanced that the book was written in Egypt at the close of the 3d century B.C.E. by a pious Jew. The original language is believed to have been Aramaic. There is still an Aramaic text in existence.

Book of Judith

This book belongs to the kind of literature which is classed as historical. The book was written for the purpose of arousing the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in a time of national calamity. The question of the historicity of the book remains unsettled. According to the book, Nebuchadnezzar served as King of Assyria at a time when Assyria was no longer in existence. Some scholars attempt to identify Nebuchadnezzar with Antiochus' persecution.

The book was written either in Hebrew or Aramaic. Jerome states in his preface to the Latin version of the book that he had before him an Aramaic text of which the Greek

is a translation. The standpoint of the author is thoroughly Pharisaic, as Judith is praised for the scrupulous care she took with regard to food as well as other observance.

Bel and the Dragon (Additions to Daniel)

There are a number of stories clustering around Daniel and the events related in the book bearing his name. They were supposed to be additions to the book and are really included in the Septuagint. To these additions belong also the two stories of Bel and the Dragon. The first tells how Daniel convinced Cyrus that it is foolish to worship the god Bel who is merely an image but not a living God. The King argued that Bel is a mighty and powerful God, for he consumes daily a vast amount of food placed on his table. Daniel undertook to prove to the King that it was not Bel who consumes this food but somebody else. He tried to convince the King that the sombeody else was the priests.

The second story tells how Daniel killed the Dragon, worshipped by the Persians, by means of a device and was thrown into the den of the lions as a punishment for his act. He was, however, saved from them by an Angel of God. Both stories were most likely written in Hebrew.

Susanna

The story of Susanna was placed in some editions of the Septuagint at the beginning of the book of Daniel. It tells of a certain woman Susanna (Hebrew Shoshanna) who was falsely accused of unchastity by two wicked elders of the community and was brought to trial and convicted, but the clever youth, Daniel, intervened and by skillful examination of the witnesses proved the falsity of the accusation. The scene, is laid in Babylonia in the days of the captivity. The book was probably written between the years 90-60 B.C.E. in Hebrew or Aramaic.

Additions to Esther

The additions to Esther form a group of six passages intended as embellishments on the canonical book of Esther, so as to make this important event in Jewish history fuller and more poetic. The content of the six passages is as follows: (a) Mordecai sees in his dream two dragons fighting and making great noise. At their cry, all the nations prepare to battle against the righteous people. The righteous people cry unto God and are saved.

(b) The King orders at the advice of Haman the destruction of the Jews.

(c) This section contains the prayers of Mordecai and Esther.

(d) The fourth section, contains the episode of Esther's appearance before the King.

(e) In this passage—the order of the king is given to protect the Jews.

(f) Here we are given the interpretation of Mordecai's dream mentioned in (a) saying that the dragons symbolized Haman and himself.

It is believed that these addtions were written by different men. They seem to bear the marks of the time of the Maccabean revolt. The purpose of the additions was to add a more religious spirit to the rather prosaic and secular Book of Esther. (The name of God is omitted from the book of Esther.)

Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Children

This excellent hymn is known by various names. Some manuscripts call it the Hymn of the Father and some the prayer of Azarias, and a larger number of them call it The Song of the Three Children. It is based on the story told in the book of Daniel (Ch. 3, 12-30) of the three friends of Daniel, Azarias, Chanania, and Mishoel, how they were

thrown into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship idols but they were saved by the intervention of angels sent by God.

The date of the composition is not definitely determined, but from all indications, it is believed to have been composed during the early part of the Maccabean period, about 165 B.C.E.

Prayer of Manasses

This prayer is based on the story told in chronicles II and purports to be the very text used by Manasses in his plea to God. It consists of three parts: (1) Verses 1-7, is a characterization of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as the one who is merciful and compassionate, who appointed repentance as a means by which sinners may be saved: (2) Verses 8-10, is a confession of sin; 3) Verses 11-15, is a plea for forgiveness.

Most scholars believe it was originally written in Greek and assign it a late date as 200 C.E. Some scholars believe its date to be the Maccabean period about 168 B.C.E.

The Book of Baruch

The book of Baruch belongs to the prophetic class of the Apocryphal literature. The book has a super inscription stating that Baruch wrote this book after the first capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

The language of the original is debated among the scholars. Some claim that it was written in Greek, some argue that only the first part was originally in Hebrew and the rest of it in Greek. Thus they assume double authorship. As to the date there is also indefiniteness. Some are of the opinion that the book was composed during the Maccabean period about 150 B.C.E. Others place it after the destruction of the second Temple.

The Epistle of Jeremy

It is a letter which was supposed to have been written by the prophet Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon. The content of the epistle is as follows: Jeremiah tells the exiles that they were driven out of Palestine because of their sins and that they will remain in Babylon for seven generations. He then warns them against the idolatry of their masters lest they will be led to follow the ways of the pagans. With the warning as a starting point, he launches a bitter diatribe against paganism, against idols and their worshippers. This satire against paganism seems to be the burden of the writer.

As for its date and original language, the opinions among scholars vary. One view is that is was written in Greek, in Alexandria, as an attack against heathenism and places its date to be about 70 B.C.E. Other opinions are that the original epistle was written in Hebrew, and fix the date for its appearance in the 4th century B.C.E.

Wisdom of Joshua, Son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)

This book, the most famous of the Apocrypha, belongs to the species of Jewish literature known as wisdom writing. Wisdom, to the Jews never meant philosophy in the Greek sense. It never dealt with pure metaphysical problems but has a wider, and in a way a double meaning. On the one hand, it is primarily, a philosophy of life, purporting to teach and guide the ways of action of the individual. On the other hand, it also represents or rather symbolizes the world of reason which is reflected in the creative work of God, that of life and nature.

Wisdom according to the ancient Jewish view was regarded as a guide to the good life and a path leading to happiness.

In the Sayings of Joshua, the Son of Sirach, wisdom becomes identified with the Law, the Torah.

The age of the author and the date of the composition of the book can be determined with definiteness. The book, scholars agree, was composed between the years 190-175 B.C.E. Joshua, ben Sirach was a scholar or (Sopher-in Hebrew) and as evidenced from the book, he kept a kind of college at his house of study where people came to drink of his wisdom. He was at the same time a man of the world who traveled much in his youth. In his age, the Jews came in contact with Greek culture, and many of them saturated with that culture began to become Hellenized and follow a life of pleasure. Against this the book was intended.

The wisdom of ben (son) Sirach forms an exception to the other Apocryphal books inasmuch as it exerted a great influence on later Jewish literature. The book was assiduously studied by Talmudic scholars, and they often quote sayings from this book. It is believed that the original name of this book was "Mishle ben Sirach" (The Parables or Proverbs of the Son of Sirach).

The Wisdom of Solomon

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon, like Ben Sira (Son of Sira), glorifies wisdom, and like him, and even to a greater degree considers wisdom the daughter of God, the reflection of God's glory. The book, however, possesses a different tone from the wisdom of ben Sira, for while the author of the former devotes himself primarily to describing the conduct of the wise men in different circumstances of life, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon is primarily interested in warning people against the folly of ungodliness, especially that of idolatry. The book contains also special discourses on the righteous and the wicked which are intended to inculcate the theory of reward and punish-

ment after death, thus answering the vexing question why the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer. Yet, ungodliness seems to be its main theme. On account of his peculiar treatment of the themes in the book, the author does not adhere strictly to the prescribed form of proverb and pithy sayings, but passes often into that of connected discourse.

The influence of Greek philosophy is evidenced not only in the application of the above epithets to wisdom but in the enumeration of the four cardinal virtues: temperance, prudence, justice and fortitude, advocated by the Stoics. The psychology taught by the author seems to be Platonic, inasmuch as we are told that the soul of man is preexistent, and that if it is a good one, it enters an undefiled body. The body is considered by him as only a tabernacle for the soul.

The book was composed between the years 125-100 B.C.E. and Greek was the original language in which it was written. The author is believed to have been an Alexandrian Jew. Many scholars claim double authorship for the book.

IV Maccabees

Maccabees IV belongs to the class of philosophic and didactic books of the Apocrypha. In its form, it is really a discourse, as the author himself states in his opening sentence that he is going to demonstrate that pious reason is the absolute ruler over motives and passions. He continues to tell us that by obeying reason, man can not only control his passions but also his emotions if they happen to be contrary to justice. He endeavors to prove his thesis by citing facts from Jewish history, especially the Martyrdom of Eliezer and that of the seven brethren, the very same stories related in the second book of Maccabees.

Maccabees was most likely written in the beginning of the first century of the common era about the year 10 C.E. and in Greek.

Apocalyptic Literature

Apocalypse is another term for revelation. The transition from prophecy to Apocalyptic was gradual and already accomplished within the limits of the Old Testament. Apocalyptical elements disclose themselves in the Prophetical books of Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah, while in Isa. xxiv.-xxvii. and xxxiii. we find well-developed Apocalypses; but it is not until we come to Daniel that we have a fully matured example of this class of literature.

Sources of Apocalyptic

The origin of Apocalyptic is to be sought in unfulfilled prophecy. Of prime importance here was the non-fulfillment of the greatest of all prophecies—the advent of the Messianic kingdom. Thus, though Jeremiah had promised that after 70 years (xxv. II, xxix 10) Israel should be restored to her own land (xxiv. 5, 6), and then enjoy the blessings of the Messianic kingdom under the Messianic king (xxiii. 5, 6), this period passed by and things remained as of old. Haggai and Zechariah explained the delay by the failure of Judah to rebuild the temple, and so generation after generation the hope of the kingdom persisted, sustained most probably by ever-fresh reinterpretations of ancient prophecy, till in the first half of the 2nd century the delay is explained in the Books of Daniel and Enoch as due not to man's shortcomings but to the counsels of God. The 70 years of Jeremiah are interpreted by the angel in Daniel (ix. 25-27) as 70 weeks of years of which 69½ have already expired, while the writer of Enoch (lxxxv.-xc.) interprets the 70 years of Jeremiah as the 70 successive reigns of the 70 angelic patrons of the nations, which are to come to a close in his own generation.

But the above periods came and passed by, and again the

expectations of the Jews were disappointed. Presently the Greek empire of the East was overthrown by Rome, and in due course this new phenomenon, so full of meaning for the Jews, called forth a new interpretation of Daniel. The fourth and last empire which, according to Dan. vii. 19-25, was to be Greek, was now declared to be Roman by the Apocalypse of Baruch (xxxvi.-xl.) and 4 Ezra (x. 60-xii. 35). Once more such ideas as those of "the day of Yahweh" and the "new heavens and a new earth" were constantly re-edited with fresh nuances in conformity with their new settings. Thus the inner development of Jewish Apocalyptic was always conditioned by the historical experiences of the nation.

Another source of Apocalyptic was primitive mythological and cosmological traditions in which the eye of the seer could see the secrets of the future no less surely than those of the past. Thus the six days of the world's creation, followed by a seventh of rest, were regarded as at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days its history would be accomplished in six thousand years, since each day with God was as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the six thousand years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of a thousand years (II. Enoch xxxii., II.-xxx iii. 2).

Object and Contents of Apocalyptic

The object of this literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with the righteousness of God and the suffering condition of His righteous servants on earth. In this the Apocalyptists were concerned both with the nation and the individual; and the way in which they solved the difficulty was by teaching that the righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth, even in this world the faithful community should attain its rights in an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, or else in temporary blessedness here and

eternal blessedness hereafter; and that though the individual might perish amid the disorders of this world, he would not fail to attain through resurrection the recompense that was his due in the Messianic kingdom or in heaven itself. Apocalyptic thus forms the indispensable preparation for the religion of the New Testament.

Form of Apocalyptic

The form of Apocalyptic is a literary form; for we cannot suppose that the writers experienced the voluminous and detailed visions we find in their books. On the other hand the reality of the visions is to some extent guaranteed by the writer's intense earnestness and by his manifest belief in the divine origin of his message. How is this apparent contradiction to be explained? It has in part been explained by Gunkel, who has rightly emphasized that the writer did not freely invent his materials but derived them in the main from tradition, as he held that these mysterious traditions of his people were, if rightly expounded, forecasts of the time to come. Furthermore, the visionary, who is found at most periods of great spiritual excitement, was forced by the prejudice of his time, which refused to acknowledge any inspiration in the present, to ascribe his visionary experiences and reinterpretations of the mysterious traditions of his people to some heroic figure of the past. Moreover, there will always be a difficulty in determining what belongs to his actual vision and what to the literary skill or free invention of the author, seeing that the visionary must be dependent on memory and past experience for the forms and much of the matter of the actual vision.

Apocalyptic as Distinguished from Prophecy

The message of the prophets was primarily a preaching of repentance and righteousness if the nation would escape

judgment; the message of the Apocalyptic writers was of patience and trust for that deliverance and reward were sure to come.

Prophecy believes that this world is God's world and that in this world His goodness and truth will yet be vindicated. Hence the prophet prophesies of a definite future arising out of and organically connected with the present. The Apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, despairs of the present and directs his hopes absolutely to the future, to a new world standing in essential opposition to the present. The prophet stood in direct relations with his people; his prophecy was first spoken and afterwards written. The Apocalyptic writer could obtain no hearing from his contemporaries, who held that, though God spoke in the past, "there was no more any prophet." This pessimism and want of faith limited and defined the form in which religious enthusiasm should manifest itself, and prescribed as a condition of successful effort the adoption of pseudonymous authorship.

Apocalyptic took an indefinitely wider view of the world's history than prophecy. Thus, whereas prophecy had to deal with temporary reverses at the hands of some heathen power, Apocalyptic arose at a time when Israel had been subject for generations to the sway of one or other of the great world-powers. Hence to harmonize such difficulties with belief in God's righteousness, it had to take account of the role of such empires in the counsels of God, the rise, duration and downfall of each in turn, till finally the lordship of the world passed into the hands of Israel, or the final judgment arrived. These events belonged in the main to the past, but the writer represented them as still in the future, arranged under certain artificial categories of time definitely determined from the beginning in the counsels of God and revealed by Him to His servants the prophets. Determinism thus became a leading characteristic of Jewish Apocalyptic, and its conception of history became severely mechanical.

The Jewish Apocalyptic Books

1. Book of Enoch
2. The Book of Jubilees
3. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
4. Psalms of Solomon
5. Apocalypse of Baruch
6. Assumption of Moses
7. 2 or 4 Ezra
8. Book of Adam and Eve
9. Slavonic Enoch
10. Sibylline Oracles

Summary of the Apocalyptic Books

The Book of Enoch

This book opens with a description of the impending day of judgment, and how the earth shall tremble when God will appear to judge it. Doom is promised to the wicked, and long life, gladness and continuous peace to the righteous. The future is depicted in glowing colors. The Messiah will appear and the age of bliss will begin. The book was not written all at one time. It is estimated that the first part of the book appeared about 170 B.C.E., and the last section was finished between the years 95-64 B.C.E.

The Book of Jubilees

In this book there are two elements, the homiletic narrative and the Apocalyptic. All the events from creation to the giving of the Law are told as they are found in the Bible with slight omissions but with a lot of embellishments and additional stories. The author's purpose in relating these stories is to glorify the Law.

The future is depicted in a manner which we meet quite frequently in other Apocalyptic books. The Messiah will come to Judah but no supernatural characteristics are attributed to him. The Messianic era will be realized on earth and at that time a physical and ethical transformation

will take place. Pain and sin will disappear, man will live in happiness and after death pass to immortality.

The date of the book is about 135-105 B.C.E. It is believed to have been written in Hebrew.

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs

In this work there are many Christian interpolations as there are references to an incarnated Messiah but the work is genuinely Jewish and was written in Hebrew.

The ethical teachings of the book exhibit noble sentiments on social relations. The book contains many exhortations to follow in the way of righteousness and warnings to abstain from sin. The name of the book is derived from the twelve children of Jacob who are described as speaking to their children before death and giving them moral testaments and ethical injunctions.

The original was written during the years 109-106 B.C.E. Parts were added to it around 75-50 B.C.E.

The Psalms of Solomon

This is a collection of eighteen Psalms dealing with the pious Jew. These Psalms depict a soul yearning for God and glorifying His Law. They also express a deep desire for the Messiah who is to come from the House of David.

The original language was Hebrew and were written between the years 63-40 B.C.E.

The Apocalypse of Baruch

The feelings of the faithful Jews at the time of the destruction of the Temple and soon after it, are reflected in this book.

In its Messianic conception, it speaks of a temporary restoration of Zion to be followed by a war, and then the

real Messiah will appear and the permanent Messianic era will be ushered in. The utterances in this book pertaining to the Law are lovingly expressed. The following are a few examples: "There not be wanting to Israel a wise man, nor a son of the Law to the race of Jacob" (XL. 4), or "Though man depart, yet the Law abideth" (LXXV 11, 15), or "Zion has been taken away from us and we have nothing now save the Torah" (LXXIII, 3).

It is believed that this book was composed between the years 70-90 C.E. and that the original language was Hebrew later translated into Greek.

The Assumption of Moses

The assumption of Moses was probably written in the opening years of the 1st cent. A.D., and narrates in terms of prophecy the history of the world from the time of Moses until the time of its composition, ending in an eschatological picture of the future. As it now stands, the writing is hardly more than a fragment of a much larger work, and exists only in an old Latin translation. The most striking characteristic is in the importance given to Satan as the opponent of God, as well as the rather elaborate portrayal of the end of the age it narrates. The Judgment is to be extended to the Gentiles, but no Messiah is mentioned, the Messianic kingdom rather than he being central. Further, the writer evidently in fear of revolutionary tendencies among his people, says distinctly that God alone is to be judge of the Gentiles.

IV Erza

This book deals primarily with the problem of the national Job who according to the author is of course, Israel. The author presents the reasons for Israel's suffering. (1) God's ways are inscrutable, (2) human intelligence is

finite and we can not comprehend them, (3) evil must run its course, but God loves Israel and the future Messianic age will solve all difficulties.

The author's conception of the future age consists of a blending of two ideas. One promises prosperity for Israel in full measure, and the other promises eternal life to the elect. He accordingly divides the future into two periods—a period of material prosperity and a period of spiritual bliss.

The date for the book is believed to be between 81-96 C.E.

The Book of Adam and Eve

This book consists of a cluster of legends about Adam and Eve. It tells how they mourn the loss of Paradise on account of their fall, the approaching death of Adam and his attempt to evade it, his resigning himself to his fate, his assembling of the members of his family and telling them of his and Eve's fall. The author completes his tales with a story of Adam's and Eve's death and how they are carried away by angels who promise them resurrection. This book is believed to have been written about 6 C.E.

The Sibylline Oracles

The Sibylline oracles are the most important illustration of the extra-Palestinian-Hellenistic apocalyptic hope. As the work now exists, it is a collection of various writings dealing with the historical and future conditions of the Jewish people. The most important apocalyptic section is in Book iii, 97-828, written in Maccabean times. In it the punishment of the enemies of the Jews is elaborately foretold, as are also the future and the Messianic Judgment. This third book was probably edited in the middle of the 2nd century by a Christian. In general, however, this Sibylline literature,

although of great extent, gives us no such distinct pictures of the future as those to be found in the Ezra-Baruch apocalypses.

On the Rejection of the "Outside Books"

The Apocryphal and Apocalyptic type of literature was very popular. It stimulated curiosity; it had a mystical flavour; it encouraged deep piety; it offered much hope for a glorious future; it promised reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked. Yet, despite the popularity of these books, the Pharisaic teachers forbade the reading of them, branded them as "Outside Books" and refused their canonization.

The Mishnah (Sanh. X.I.) says that R. Akiba included amongst those who had no part in the world to come "him who reads the external books."

If the authors of these books were not Pharisees—who were their authors? And, if the books were not intended for the Pharisees, for whom were they intended? And since these books did contain much that was desirable, satisfied a deep felt need as was demonstrated by their appeal, why did the Pharisaic teachers discourage the reading of them and make strenuous efforts to remove them from circulation?

If some of the authors of the external books were Pharisees, they did not represent the official thinking of Pharisaism—and they certainly did not write for the Pharisees. Immediately before the Maccabean struggle and in the two centuries after, there existed in Palestine, more than one party. Mention has already been made of the Pharisees and their opponents the Sadducees. In addition, there were sects as the Essenes, the Zealots, and other groups. It seems that Apocryphal type of writing and more particularly the Apocalyptic literature found a spot in the heart of the Zealots.

It is from them that the Apocalyptic authors no doubt emanated and that it was for them that this literature was primarily meant.

What elements did these books lack or possess which rendered them objectionable to the Pharisees?

Even though the teachings of the Apocryphal books were admirable, yet, in the opinion of the Pharisees, the canonized books, as far as they were concerned contained all that was necessary for the people as a guide. The Scriptures specifically spoke in terms of Halacha—Law—the right way to follow and the right way was all that mattered according to the Pharisees. Halacha, to the minds of the Pharisees, meant a life based on action, of doing what was right, what God prescribed in the Torah.

Had the Pharisees stamped the Apocryphal books with their approval, the chances were that these books, because of their appeal, would have won first place in the minds and hearts of the people and the canonical books would have receded into second place and gradually would have been forgotten. In view of this concern, the Pharisees therefore decided to stand or fall with the Halacha—the law, which they developed. They aimed to make the Halacha the central feature of Judaism.

As for the elimination of the Apocalyptic writings from the reading list, the Pharisees reasoned thusly: While it is true that this literature is based on and was inspired by the prophetic writings, and, the prophetic writings of Joel, Deutero—Isaiah, Haggai, Malachai, do show where the Apocalyptic writers got their ideas, nevertheless, the fact that the Apocalyptic writers wrote under assumed Biblical names that were familiar to the public, reveals therefore, a lack of faith in their own presentations. When the prophets spoke they did not hesitate to identify themselves with their messages. This is not true of the Apocalyptic writers. They aimed to speak as the prophets did, but fell short of their passion, fire, eloquence and content. They no doubt knew it

and felt it. And the Pharisees who discouraged the public from reading these books knew it too. They therefore were determined to eliminate anything that they considered inferior to the work of the recognized prophets.

"Apocalyptic" says Travers Herford in his book "The Pharisees," "is full of promises, but it has never kept one of them. Its immediate effect may have been exhilaration, but it has left despair behind it. And if Judaism had not held in its heart a nobler faith and a stronger trust, a deep passion of devotion to the will of God, not all the Apocalyptic that ever was written would have sufficed to keep it alive. Apocalyptic uses the words of hope but its message is despair, despair of all human means for establishing the kingdom of God on earth, the anxious longing for God to intervene and the distrust of the slow waiting for His purpose to be fulfilled, the hasty casting of the responsibility for the future of the world upon God and the disowning of His command to serve Him in the passing time. All these find voice in Apocalyptic, as it was only natural they should; but that does not alter the character of the literature which expresses them. The Pharisees and the Rabbis set their faces against all that, being well able to see the effects of it in their own time. They saw the two great wars against Rome, both probably and certainly the last inspired by Apocalyptic ideas. And if they had wanted an example to give point to their disapproval they had one ready to their hand in IV Ezra, written soon after the fall of Jerusalem in the first war. To read that book is to understand the close connection between Apocalyptic and despair. It is indeed a mournful book, and the writer plainly indicates his perplexity that devotion to Torah should have ended in such colossal disaster. But to say that IV Ezra represents the answer of Pharisaism to the problem presented by that disaster is to go about as far from the truth as is possible. The answer of Pharisaism is precisely what IV Ezra does not give. The answer of defeated and disheartened Zealots, yes; but the answer of Pharisees, never.

The Pharisees had not shared in those wild hopes; and, though they grieved for Jerusalem, as every Jew must do, they did not feel the same crushing weight of despair. Their answer, in effect if not in words, was to take up again their old task of building up the religious life of the people, a task which the war had made for the time impossible, to keep Israel together as the holy nation set to do the will of God, now that the political dream of triumphant nationality had been shattered. The Zealots had twice broken loose, and twice their effort had ended in utter failure. The Pharisees had done what they could to cherish a nobler hope, and a truer faith in God than that which found utterance in Apocalyptic, and made mad fanatics of the Zealots. They could only wait till the storm had spent itself, and then bind up the wounds and share the sufferings of their people. They preached again, and practised, the serving of God in the daily doing of His will; and it is highly significant that the two centuries which saw the final discomfiture of the Zealots saw, at their close, the completion of the Mishnah, the official declaration of the Halachah. That book, for those who can understand, is the real answer of Pharisaism to the problem of Israel's twofold overthrow. The Mishnah, the embodiment of Pharisaic devotion to the will of God, conceived in their own characteristic manner, built up on the foundation of a living faith and an unconquerable trust, the Mishnah, and not IV Ezra or any of its kind, represents the life and soul of Judaism, its answer to the counsels of despair and the futile wailing of disheartened visionaries. This is obvious to those who know the inner spirit of the Rabbinical literature in general, and of the Mishnah in particular. And it is just because they did know it that Jewish scholars have usually placed the Rabbinical far above the Apocalyptic literature as representing the real and essential Judaism of the time."

Judaism survived many a dark hour in its long history. There was a strong and deep faith in the heart of the Jewish

people which enabled them to face and survive their calamitous and tragic conditions. This faith, however, they did not derive from the symbols, visions, and empty promises of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic readings. It came to them from a way of life which the Torah gave them, from ideals which the prophets held up before them. The real strength of Judaism, came from the teachings of the Soferim, the Pharisees and the Rabbis.

It was due to the progressive tendency of the Pharisees that their interpretation of Judaism continued to develop and remained an ever living force in Jewry. The Pharisees erected a structure which has proved its strength by withstanding the shocks of time.

JESUS, PHARISAISM AND THE PHARISEES

Much that is good and beautiful has been taught and preached in the name of Jesus, since the rise of Christianity some 2,000 years ago. At the same time, much wickedness and cruelty have been perpetrated in Jesus' name during the same period. How can this paradox be explained?

The good that is preached in the name of Jesus, is the very foundation of Christianity. For basically and primarily Christianity is a religion of love. On the other hand, the evil that has come from the hand of Christendom and from which Jew and Judaism suffered greatly is due first, to the difficulty of fulfilling the command of practicing love always and under all circumstances, and secondly, to the profound misunderstanding of Jesus' relationship to the Jews and the Jewish religion.

In the past century attempts have been made by Christian and Jewish scholars to carefully review and analyze all the available sources pertaining to Jesus and present a fair account of him, his times, and his teachings.

These scholarly contributions may be considered as a boon to both Christian and Jew. For both need to be enlightened, both are badly in need of a fuller appreciation of one of the greatest and most fascinating figures of the human race.

Judging from the stinging remark attributed to Jesus: "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees Hypocrites" (Matt.

23.13), one is led to believe that Jesus was not a Jew or if he was a Jew he was anti-Jewish.

Now, who was Jesus? If he was a Jew, what did he say or do that was objectionable to his people? If he was not a Jew where did he come from and why did he happen to seek out above all others the Jews for his preachment or conversion to his beliefs?

Contrary to some opinions by men of the 19th century, who were not particularly friendly toward the Jews, it is generally agreed that Jesus was a Jew. And, not only was he born a Jew, but from the beginning to the end of his life he was a loyal, faithful, son of his people and his religion.

Jesus the Jew

"Jesus," says Julius Wellhausen, "was not a Christian: he was a Jew. He did not preach a new faith but taught men to do the will of God; and in his opinion, as also in that of the Jews, the will of God was to be found in the Law of Moses and in the other books of Scripture."

When Jesus was asked by one of the Scribes what he considered as the first of all commandments, Jesus replied: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul. . . . this is the first commandment, and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. There is no commandment greater than these." And, when one asked him how he could inherit eternal life, Jesus answered: "Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not defraud, and, Honour thy father and thy mother."

Jesus' attitude toward Judaism is made unmistakably clear by one of his sayings in his "Sermon on the Mount." "Think not that I came to destroy the Law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you,

till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle, shall in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplished —whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the Kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven."

At no time during his short life, did Jesus dream of forsaking his people, or the God of his Fathers, and start a new religion. Whatever Jesus preached, whatever he believed and taught, was strictly out of his milieu, out of his Jewish background, out of the Jewish sources that were familiar to him.

If what Jesus said or did in his time among his people, appear strange to the Jew of our day, it is only because we are removed from the thoughts and life of his period by twenty centuries. We read his life, we judge his acts and his views, by our own present day knowledge and understanding of religion generally, and Judaism in particular. The misjudgment we oft-times impute to Jesus is completely that of our own.

Too often, the unpleasant acts of Christendom have been mistaken by Jews as a tribute to Jesus; as devotion to the principles by which he himself lived and which he personally promulgated. In other words, Jesus is judged not by what he represents, but by the acts of Christendom.

Christians on the other hand, who are totally ignorant of Jewish doctrine, Jewish ethics, the Jewish concept of God, man, and the world, cannot fathom why Jews should have rejected the noble and ennobling teachings of Jesus. It seems to them that only a base people would do so.

Few Christians realize, however, that there was hardly anything for the Jews to accept of the teachings of Jesus with which they had not already been familiar, which had not already been part and parcel of their daily and religious life.

Jesus, after all, knew no other sources from which to preach and teach but that of his people. If he spoke of Judgment Day, Reward and Punishment, the Messiah, the Kingdom of Heaven, and the like, all these were Jewish concepts. Perhaps these ideas were fresh, novel, inspiring, and exciting for the Greek world, which later, through Paul, incorporated them into its religious and cultural life, but for the Jews, these concepts were as common as the rising and the setting of the sun. These ideas and others referred to by Jesus, were current among the Jews at least two centuries before him. Hence the notion on the part of Christians that the Jews rejected Jesus' teachings is completely erroneous.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that Jesus the Jew, the devout Jew, was eventually repulsed and crucified. Why was he crucified and by whom? Although crucifixion was the Roman and not the Jewish way of ultimate punishment, it is undeniable that some Jews had a hand in influencing Rome of giving Jesus the ultimate sentence. Why?

Jesus cannot be properly understood without first transplanting ourselves into his day and his environment.

Jesus lived in a time of political oppression, economic disturbance, social change, and religious revolution. His country was ruled by the stern mighty hand of Rome, there was great unrest among the people, they yearned for their independence as any subjugated people would. There was much poverty and unemployment rampant throughout the land. The nation was divided into many different sects. The jealousy between the aristocracy and the plebians was sharp and strong; the religious disagreement and disputes between the Scribes, the Pharisees (common people), and the Sadducees (priests), were many and various. On every front, the signs of sorrow, sadness and discontent were writ in large letters. The Jewish people impatiently waited for a Redeemer; for the Messiah promised to them by their prophets.

Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in Judea, and sometime after his birth, his family moved to Nazareth in Galilee. The date of his birth is uncertain. Matthew places it sometime before the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.E.) Luke connects it with the Roman census of Judea (6 C.E.). The parents of Jesus were Joseph, a carpenter, and Mary, or Miriam. (According to the accounts in the Gospels he was born of Mary without a human father). Joseph and Mary had besides Jesus, four sons: Jacob, Jose, Judah and Simon, and several daughters. Jesus grew up with them in Nazareth and like his father, became a carpenter. While he had received no formal education, he was nevertheless, acquainted with the Bible, with the religious customs of the Jews of Galilee and the sayings of the Jewish sages.

Galilee, at a distance from the capital of the Temple, was far behind Judea in mental attainments and knowledge of the law. But, on the other hand, morality was stricter in Galilee and the observance of laws and customs more rigidly enforced. Through their proximity to the Syrians, the Galilileans had adopted many superstitions and their Hebrew language was also corrupted by their Syrian neighbors by the introduction of Aramaic expressions.

On account of his Galilean origin where the educational facilities were limited, Jesus was deprived of the mastery of the Law. His deficiency in this knowledge, was compensated, however, by his religious fervor, moral purity, gentle disposition and the enviable virtue of humility. His whole being was permeated with tenderness, sympathy and brotherly love.

It might be said of Jesus that he was more absorbed in things of the spirit than in things material. There was within him a deep yearning for God, the heavenly—the celestial. Owing to his temperament, his character, and special in-

terests, he was destined for something greater than carpentry. What he needed was the incident that would cause him to abandon his craft and go to those higher things, which his soul was more akin to, what his heart demanded of him.

Before long the incident came, the occasion arose, the opportunity presented itself to him, through the Essene John the Baptist.

The Incident Which Helped Jesus to Choose the Ministry

In addition to the Sadducean and Pharisaic parties that were extant in Judea in Jesus' time, there was another sect known as the Essenes.

The origin of the Essene order can be dated from the period of great religious enthusiasm excited by the tyranny and persecutions of the Syrians which lead to the Maccabean war in 168 B.C.E.

The Essenes had never formed a political party, on the contrary, they eschewed the glare of public life. They sprang from the Assideans whom they resembled in their strict observance of the Sabbath. When pursued by their enemies, they had submitted to death in their hundreds rather than to take up arms to defend themselves on the Sabbath. Their chief ideal was to attain the highest sanctity of priestly consecration. An Essene was consequently obliged to avoid any intercourse with those who were less strict than himself. To keep their purity unspotted, the Essenes were thus induced to form themselves into a separate order.

They chose for their residence the desert to the west of the Dead Sea, and settled in the oasis of Engadi. The fruit of palm trees, which they found in this area, partly furnished their simple fare.

They avoided all that pertained to the world. Thus they divested themselves of all their private possessions. To a

member of this sect, private property could be of no use; each one placed his fortune in the common treasury out of which the wants of the various members of the order were supplied.

They bathed every morning in fresh water; and from these daily baths, they were called "Morning Baptists." The name Essene appears likewise to have been derived from this peculiarity, as in Chaldaic language it means a bather.

The Essenes strongly believed that through an ascetic life, they might re-awaken the long-silent echo of the heavenly voice, that Prophecy would thereby be renewed, and that men and youths would again see visions, and the great Messianic Kingdom would be revealed. The Kingdom of heaven would commence. It was the sect of Essenes that pictured the Messianic time in the most idealistic manner.

The Qumran Sect

It is quite possible that the Qumran sect, described in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essenes are one and the same order. For with slight variations, their manner of living, their outlook on life, their intense inwardness, and strong concentration on the advent and personality of the Messiah, appear to be almost identical.

The Qumran sect knew itself primarily as the 'Covenant' (Berith). Other names were the 'Congregation,' (Edah) 'Assembly' (Quahal) 'Party' (Esah sometime also meaning 'Council'), and 'Community' (Yahad), a word conveying the idea of unity. This idea of unity lay very close to the heart of the Sect. Thus they shared all the necessities of life, spiritual as well as material:

"For everything shall be (held) in common, Truth and fair humility, and faithful love, and just consideration for one's fellow in the holy Council."

They took their meals communally, and sang their praises

to God together, and in joint session held their deliberate councils.

The sect had settled in or near the Vale of Achor, lying between the Dead Sea and Jerusalem. The sect believed that another forty years of wandering in the wilderness, and the promise of a spiritual Canaan would finally be realized.

The whole idea of their way of life was that it should be a rehearsal of the Messianic Age.

Whether or not the Qumran sect was one that was separate and apart from the Essenes is difficult to determine. Be that as it may, it was from the Essenes that for the first time the cry went forth, "The Messiah is coming! The Kingdom of heaven is near!" The Essene who sent forth this call to the Israelites was John the Baptist (his name doubtless meaning the Essene, he who daily bathed and cleansed his body and soul in spring water). His wild, unkempt appearance, his uncompromising call to repentance, and his fanatical assurance of the nearness of the Day of Judgment, made a particular appeal to the people who heard him speak. We are told that besides his wearing of only the simplest garments, he ate only honey and locusts. John entertained the belief, that if the whole Judean nation would bathe in the river Jordan, acknowledge its sins and adopt the stringent rules of the Essenes, then the promised Messianic time would be hastened.

In view of the belief that prevailed among the Jews, that before the Messiah would make his apearance, he would be preceded by the Prophet Elijah, there were many, therefore, because of the Baptist's asceticism and call for repentance, who considered him as the Prophet Elijah.

When John the Baptist, invited all to come and receive baptism in the Jordan, to repent and prepare for the Kingdom of Heaven, Jesus hastened to obey the call and was baptized by him.

The Baptist drew to himself such throngs that Herod

Antipas, governor of the province in which the Baptist dwelt, ordered his arrest. He was suspicious of a man who could attract unto himself such large crowds and move their hearts. The Baptist was imprisoned and later beheaded.

It is at this point, that Jesus felt called upon by destiny to carry on the work of his Master, the Baptist.

In order to avoid the fate of John the Baptist, Jesus did not wait for large crowds to gather around him at any of his meetings nor did he tarry too long in any one particular town or village.

To assist him in spreading his message, he appointed twelve Apostles from his closest admirers whom he commissioned to go in twos and preach in the surrounding villages. These Apostles revered their Master so much that before long they regarded him as the promised Messiah.

Even though Jesus had not announced himself as the Messiah, the thought, however, that he was the Redeemer of his people must have occurred to him on several occasions. Once he turned to his disciples with this question: "What do men say of me? Who do men say that I am?" the disciples replied: "John the Baptist. Some say, Elijah; and others, One of the prophets." Jesus asked again: "But ye yourselves who do you say that I am?" Whereupon one of his disciples (Simon the fisherman) stepped forward and said, "Thou art the Messiah."

Unlike the Baptist, Jesus did not address himself to the nation as a whole. He believed that he could accomplish more by engaging the interest of a particular class of Judeans. He sought out therefore, the poor, the ignorant, the hated publicans (tax collectors for Rome), and those that for one reason or another had been expelled from their Jewish community. He felt within himself the call to save "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." As it is attributed to him saying, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matthew 9:12).

By word and example, Jesus raised the sinner and the publican, and filled the hearts of those poor, neglected, thoughtless beings with the love of God, transforming them into dutiful children of their heavenly Father. He animated them with his own piety and fervor, and improved their conduct by the hope he gave them of being able to enter the kingdom of heaven. That was the greatest miracle that Jesus performed. Above all things, he taught his male and female disciples the Essene virtues of self-abnegation and humility, of the contempt of riches, of charity and the love of peace. He said to his followers, "Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass for your purses, neither two coats, neither shoes" (Matthew X. 9). He bade them become sinless as little children, and declared they must be as if born again if they would become members of the approaching kingdom of heaven. The law of brotherly love and forbearance he carried to the extent of self-immolation. "If you receive a blow on one cheek, turn the other one likewise, and if one takes your cloak, give him likewise your shirt." He taught the poor that they should not take heed for meat or drink or raiment, but pointed to the birds in the air and the lilies in the fields that were fed and clothed yet "they toil not, neither do they spin." He taught the rich how to distribute alms—"Let not thy left hand know what thy right doeth." He admonished the hypocrite, and bade him pray in the secrecy of his closet.

Jesus' Style of Teaching

The teaching of Jesus, said George Santayana was, "pure Hebraism reduced to its spiritual essence." His manner and his method of teaching, however, were purely his own. His style remains to this day unmatched in the annals of pedagogy. He resorted to the parable to clarify his points, and the parables he employed are so vivid, so pointed, and

so picturesque, that even the simplest of his followers could not fail to grasp their meaning. "His parables," says Joseph Klausner, "are attractive, short, popular, drawn from every day life full of instruction, simple and profound at the same time simple in form and profound in substance. . . . Besides the parables there are the striking proverbs of Jesus. They are sharp and shrewd, hitting their mark like pointed darts, and, in the manner of homely epigrams and proverbs impossible to be forgotten."

The Character of Jesus

The parables, proverbs, and popular sayings, which Jesus used in his preaching were yet not enough to capture hearts, to stir minds, to win followers. A preacher needs to have a special type of personality. This renders his preachment more authentic and more memorable. Jesus possessed that unusual personality. It is said of him that "he had the heart of a woman and the mind of a man." He was gentle, kind, and humble. But when the occasion demanded it, he showed the passion akin to that of the Prophet. On the one hand, he gave the impression that he was a visionary and dreamer, completely out of touch with this world, on the other hand, when he spoke to the ignorant, he employed practical examples to reach even the simplest of boors.

One aspect of his personality reveals him as a man of the people, one of the villagers, and almost illiterate. Another aspect of his make-up—is that of the master preacher, versed in Scripture, saturated with the great ideas of the prophets and the Psalms, possessed with a strong belief in his mission and in himself.

So strong was Jesus' belief in himself that he came to rely upon himself more than upon any of Israel's great ones, even Moses: this characteristic is summed up in the formula: "It was said to you by them of old time . . . but I, Jesus, say unto you" . . . "We must remember that nothing is more

conducive to conviction in others than a man's belief in his own self: once a man believes absolutely in himself, others, too come to believe in him almost as they would in God, and though exaggerated self-confidence can at times be repellent, yet Jesus was often tender, gentle and humble as to mask his intense self-confidence" (Klausner).

This happy combination, of uniqueness of personality and style of teaching made it possible for Jesus to attract unto himself a following of men as well as women. "The people flocked after Jesus whose parables were so attractive. They were simple folk, fishermen, labourers, tax-gatherers, many unemployed."

Jesus, was notable in another matter: he healed many that were sick. The people looked upon the Pharisees and Scribes as holy men and therefore miracle-workers. But with the Pharisees miracles were only a secondary interest. With Jesus, however, miracles were a primary factor since, without them, he could not have attracted so many of the simple folk of Galilee.

While Jesus taught the essence of Judaism to his followers, his interpretation of Scripture nevertheless, was not always the accepted or conventional one. But, his deviation from what was traditionally accepted, is also Judaism. Judaism was never static—and its laws were never dependent on one particular interpretation. Is it not said, "Shivim Ponin la Toroh"? (There are seventy facets to the Torah). Then again, it must be borne in mind that in the time of Jesus, the Law was not fully settled on many matters, and the Scribes themselves or the Pharisees who disagreed with Jesus were constantly introducing new interpretations of the law with the aim of bringing it up to date.

Jesus was an individualist. As demonstrated by his many wonderful parables, he was also original. Being both individualistic and original in his thinking, he was therefore a non-conformist. His interpretation of the Law was motivated by his individualism and also by the spirit of his period

as said above, which was one of change due to the shifting of power from the priest to the Scribe.

The Difference Between the Teachings of Jesus and the Prophets

Jesus, like the prophets, spoke freely, passionately, eloquently. He called for self examination. He pleaded that men turn from their evil ways and do good. Like the prophets he appealed to men's consciences. According to Jesus there was one Law that man had to honor and respect. In this Law he saw all the other laws embodied, from it all the other laws emanated; and to this law all the other laws, rituals, and regulations, pointed. It was the law of love, the commandment, which urges that man love his neighbour as himself.

While both Jesus and the prophets spoke "the same language," their aims were not quite the same. The vision of the prophets was to perfect man in order to establish God's Kingdom on earth. They were intent on creating and developing a model society; one in which no wrong, no injustice, no inequity, would be perpetrated; a society ruled by the highest law of love. The prophets spoke of man's relationship to man. They appealed to the nation as a whole and through the Jewish nation to the whole world. For, all were God's children and were given the same law to live by. Jesus also sought to establish God's Kingdom. God's Kingdom according to him, was to be that of heaven, through man's goodness, sincerity, and love. Jesus too, dreamed of man's purification and perfection. His appeal was not to the nation but to each individual.

Both Jesus and the Prophets were God intoxicated, God inspired, but the aim of Jesus and the Prophets differed. And, it is this difference in aim that also separated Jesus from the Pharisees who attempted by their own method to perpetuate and promote the ideals of the prophets.

The Pharisees, in the time of Jesus, were the embodiment of Jesus and the prophets. They incorporated in their program of life the doctrines of both. The Pharisees, against the will of the Sadducees, introduced the concept of Resurrection and declared it official Judaism; they also included in their teachings the ideas of Judgment Day, Immortality of the soul, Reward and Punishment, and similar other mystical concepts. However, the stress in Pharisaic teaching, on the whole, was not on the mystical and things other worldly in nature. Pharisaic thought included both, things of this world as well as that which were of the World to Come.

In the teachings of Jesus, the emphasis was primarily on the spiritual, on the heavenly, on the mysterious and mystical. When he calls for good deeds, or the pure clean life, it is not with the view to make life necessarily enjoyable on earth, but rather to prepare man for God's Kingdom of heaven. Yet one other point of difference between Jesus and the Pharisees needs to be mentioned, while Jesus appealed to the individual, the Pharisees, like the prophets, spoke to the nation as a whole. It is this line of teaching, this approach to Judaism, and this negation of things material in the here and now, that had brought Jesus into conflict with the teachers, the legislators, the legal interpreters and leaders of his day.

Friedrich Nietzche speaks of Jesus's remoteness from daily life and the facts of existence thusly: "Culture is unknown to Jesus even by hearsay: he feels no need for opposing it—he does not dispute it; that is to say, he does not even adopt a negative attitude towards it since for him it does not exist at all.

So, too, with what concerns the State, civil order and the society, labour and war; he never had any grounds for denying the world, for he never even realized the existence of the 'world' in its ecclesiastical connotation" (Antichrist). Jesus concentrated on the future life. He taught about the world to come about life in heaven.

As few examples of the teachings of Jesus will give us a glimpse of its character. These sayings are to be found chiefly in Matthew and are mainy grouped together in what is called "The Sermon on the Mount."

"If thy right eye" or "thy right hand offend thee," "pull out thine eye" and "cut off thine hand: it is better that one of thy members perish than that thy whole body go down to Gehenna." It is forbidden to swear any oath, even on the truth. It is forbidden to fight against evil, and "whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any . . . would take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also. . . . Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you . . . for if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? . . . Ye therefore shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Almsgiving should be in secret so that the left hand may not know what the right hand is doing: "When thou doest alms sound not a trumpet before thee . . . in the synagogues and in the streets." Display in prayer is likewise forbidden, or "much speaking as do the Gentiles"; but prayer should be brief, in secret, behind closed doors.

He who looks on a woman and lusts after her, commits adultery in his heart. He who divorces his wife (and marries another) commits adultery, and a divorced woman who is married to another also commits adultery; for "whom God hath joined together let not man put asunder." Better is it not to marry at all.

No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon (the world). So let him take no thought for the morrow: "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin, . . . yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one

of these; but if God doth so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?"

"Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured unto you." Let not man look on the mote that is in his brother's eye and ignore the beam that is in his own eye. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets." To enter into the kingdom of heaven it is not enough to call Jesus, "Lord, lord!" Rather let a man do the will of his heavenly Father.

He that loves father, mother, or son, or daughter, more than Jesus, is not worthy of him, "for he that findeth his soul shall lose it, and he that loseth his soul for Jesus's sake shall find it. "Everyone that doeth the will of my heavenly Father, he is my brother and sister and mother." "Be ye hated of all men for my name's sake." "Fear not them that can kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell," for "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" "Man is lord of the Sabbath" and "It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath" and therefore it is permitted to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath and, on the Sabbath, to heal even in cases where life is not endangered.

"If thy brother sin against thee" reprove him, and if he hearken unto thee well; if he hearken not, warn him in the presence of two or three witnesses, "and if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church (ekklesia), and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (Matt. 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 28).

Jesus and Halacha (Law)

Work on the Sabbath. The Bible forbids work on the Sabbath except such work which had to be done by the priests in the performance of their duties in the Temple.

Jesus permitted his disciples to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath.

On Fasting. Fasting among the ancient Hebrews was considered as a means of warding off calamities. They also observed the national fast day which commemorates the destruction of the holy Temple in Jerusalem.

Because Jesus believed himself to be the Messiah, he dispensed with the national fast day in remembrance of the destruction of the Temple.

"And John's disciples and the Pharisees were fasting. And they came and say unto him, 'Why do John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?' And Jesus said unto them, "Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?' As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast. But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day" (Matt. 9:14-15; Mark 2:18-20; Luke 5:33-35).

Washing the Hands Before Eating. The Pharisees introduced a law which required a person to wash his hands before meals. Jesus and his disciples ate without washing their hands.

On Adultery. Jesus said: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body should be cast unto Ghenna" (Matt. 5:27-30). The Pharisees believed in punishing a person for adultery but not for his mere intention.

On Oaths. According to the Scriptures, if a man made a promise, he must pay his oath to God (Deut. 23:24). Jesus on the other hand, maintained that a man has no right to swear at all. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said: "Again

ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: But I say unto you, Swear not at all."

On Divorce. According to biblical law a writ divorce is permissible if the husband has lost interest in his wife. Jesus was against divorce except in the case of adultery; and he believed that the person who married a divorcee was committing an act of adultery.

Jesus said: "It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement; But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorceth committeth adultery" (Matt. 5:31-32; 19:3-9; Mark 10:2-12; Luke 16:18).

Jesus, Pharisaism and the Pharisees. The spirit of Jesus is Pharisaic. His is a spirit free from formalism. Like the prophets before him, he is not concerned so much with the way to the goal as with the goal itself. For he, like the prophets, realized that too often people mistake the way for the destination, the practice for the purpose, the ritual for the intent.

In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus expressly declared that he had come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it (Matt. 5-17-18) and that not a jot or tittle of the Law should ever pass away.

While claiming not to infringe or curtail the Law, Jesus directed his followers to pay more attention to the intention and motive with which any act was done than the deed itself. This of course was Pharisaism, and no novelty in Jewish religious devolopment.

Jesus' insistence upon the spirit of the Law rather than upon the Halachick development of it was not necessarily or essentially anti-Jewish. Both for Jesus and the Rabbis, the doing of the will of God was one essential that took precedence over everything else. The motive for doing the divine will, was for the Rabbis and Jesus the same—simply

the love of God. Every act done out of love of God was considered as fulfilling the commandment "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" etc.

Jesus' attitude toward the Torah was similar to that of the Rabbis. He amplified and extended it in the light of his own ethical sense. This was constantly done by the Rabbis. And Jesus was doing what he knew was being done by the Rabbinic teachers in regard to interpreting the Torah. In this respect he was completely in line with the Rabbinic method of teaching and the spirit of Pharisaism.

The underlying principle of Pharisaism is freedom of spirit. The freedom to regulate life according to the needs of the hour, the freedom to make the laws for the time, the freedom to interpret God's command so that its meaning becomes intelligible to each generation, all this is Pharisaism. Pharisaism is a dynamic, democratic, progressive force, aiming to make life livable, enjoyable, and good.

Jesus' approach to the law was Pharisaic. And on this account he could not have antagonized the Pharisees. He disagreed with the Pharisees on many points; but the Pharisees had differences of opinion on many issues among themselves.

Freedom of expression, freedom of thought, is the hallmark of Pharisaism. Why is it then that Jesus speaks so harshly of the Pharisees? In view of his liberal, generous spirit, it would be expected, if he were in conflict with the Sadducees, the literalists, the priests, who stuck to the letter of the law rather than its spirit. Yet, the Sadducees are not involved with him, nor he with them. How strange! The fact that Jesus had dealings with the Pharisees shows that he had more in common with them than with the Sadducees or any of the other sects that existed in the land during his time. But again, since he was drawn to the Pharisees and since his spirit was akin to theirs, why does he speak so bitterly against them? "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees Hypocrites." If we were certain that the words in the New Testament were actually of Jesus and not that of the writer

of the passage, then the statement of Jesus cannot possibly be taken as an attack on the Pharisees as a whole—but only certain ones whom he found to be unfaithful to Pharisaism either deliberately or through ignorance. Logic, common sense, and the character of Jesus, prohibit the belief that Jesus condemned all the Pharisees which would therefore include even his closest friends and many of his followers.

The real conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees was not particularly on those questions as to how the Sabbath was to be observed, or on the matter of washing the hands before meals, or on the importance of fasting, or on the matter of divorce. These areas of religious observance were not yet fully crystallized in the minds of the Rabbis themselves. The laws pertaining to these were not yet fully established, fully accepted, and had not as yet become the accepted way of life of the people at large. Had it been otherwise, Jesus would not have received a hearing from the people who followed him. After all he did preach on occasions in the Synagogue. And his interpretation of the Torah must have been in line with current thinking or he would have been completely rejected. If he stressed motive and intent in the act, above the ritual, or if he included all the precepts in the one "Love thy neighbour as thyself" etc., we find this also in Rabbi Sinmlai's homily a well known Agadic teacher of the third century who says: "Six hundred and thirteen commandments were delivered unto Moses on Mount Sinai, . . . David came (after Moses) and reduced them (the six hundred and thirteen commandments) to eleven, as it is said: Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, etc. Then Isaiah came and reduced them to six, as it is said: He that walketh righteously, etc. Then Micah came and reduced them to three: He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, etc. Then Isaiah came again, and reduced them to two, as it is said; Thus saith the Lord,

Keep my judgments, and do justice. Then Amos came and reduced them to one, as it is said: Seek the Lord and live. Whilst Habakkuk (also) reduced them to one, as it is said; But the just shall live by his faith."

While Jesus and the Pharisees differed sharply on several points of law, this alone did not create the gulf between them. Disagreement on Jewish law, between the teachers and various schools was not uncommon in the Jewish community. Judaism encourages study, searching, and interpretation. The very word Torah means all that.

"Freedom of speech" says historian H. Graetz, "had, owing to the frequent debates in the schools of Shammai and Hillel, become so firmly established a right that one could not be attacked for expressing religious opinions."

There had to be much greater cause for the Pharisees to find fault with Jesus than his free liberal, poetic, mystical, interpretation and teachings of Judaism. What was it?

Jesus' emphasis of the Kingdom of heaven and his negation of this world, was viewed as a threat to the State and national Judaism. It meant the ruin of national life. "Where there is no call for the enactment of laws, for justice, for national statecraft," says Joseph Klausner, "where belief in God and the practice of an extreme and one-sided ethic is in itself enough—there we have the negation of national life."

The majority, who followed the Pharisees and Scribes could on no account accept Jesus' nullification of this world. For Judaism, is a way of life. It is a religion of life; calling for the enjoyment and sanctification of every deed, every act of life with the aim of creating a happier condition here on earth among the children of men.

The Gulf Between Jesus and the Pharisees

That which estranged Jesus from the Pharisees was due, in my opinion to three main causes. First, it was that

Jesus believed himself to be the Messiah. Since the Jews expected that the Messiah they awaited would bring them redemption from their oppressive conditions and Jesus did not, they disregarded him as the Redeemer. Secondly, because the Pharisees were afraid that the nation would suffer at the hands of Rome on account of his believing himself to be the Messiah. For, Rome looked upon any popular leader of the people with disfavor and great suspicion. And thirdly, Jesus' complete disregard for this world and strong emphasis in his teaching on the world of the Hereafter. This rendered his teaching—not particularly anti-Jewish but in a way un-Jewish.

The Pharisees, members of the religious Sanhedrin, and hence the spiritual leaders of the Jewish people, maintained that the ethical teachings were of paramount importance for the reshaping of human nature. They insisted on the fulfillment of the law. They were always conscious of the need for equity in the law. They held to the conviction that a state cannot exist unless it is maintained by law and order, Jesus, on the other hand, not being interested in the state, could appeal to his fellow men in purely ethical terms, relying on moral exhortation, saying: "That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."

The Crucifixion of Jesus

However, despite the disputes and sharp disagreements on many points between Jesus and the Pharisees, and the uncomplimentary remarks Jesus is credited with having made against the Pharisees, yet the Pharisees are not charged in the Gospels with the crucifixion of Jesus. The charge is made against the priests. Why the priests? Because the priests at that time were the Jewish representatives of political life in the country and worked hand in hand with Rome. The priest during that period did many things which were against

the interest of the people. As a matter of fact they were regarded by the populace as Quislings.

When Jesus made his appearance in Jerusalem a few days before Passover, and was proclaimed by the people or proclaimed himself as the Messiah, he created much fear among the priests, the Jewish political leaders. True, the Pharisees or the great portion of the population did not cherish this announcement, and placed little faith in him as the anointed or chosen one to redeem them from their political oppression, at the same time, they had no intention of eliminating him from the scene. For, there were others before him, who made similar claims in those days as ones who were sent to bring redemption to their people.

The impression made by Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem was more dramatic, more exciting, than by any other before him. The disturbance he caused around the Temple precincts, attracted the attention of the priests. Fearing that the nation would be accused by Rome of fomenting a revolution against her, the high priest quickly had Jesus arrested, called a political Sanhedrin in session, held court, on the eve of a holiday, contrary to religious law, and not in accordance with Pharisaic tradition, tried him and found him guilty on two counts, blasphemy and Messianic pretensions. Actually he was tried not as a religious offender but rather as a criminal—an agitator against the State. He was proclaimed guilty, when he did not deny that he was the Messiah. He was then turned over to Pilate the Roman Governor of Judea. (The Political Sanhedrin, unlike the religious Sanhedrin, had no definite place to hold sessions; it had no statutory regulations, as the religious Sanhedrin had; it could be called to session any time of day or night, holy day or Sabbath. This Sanhedrin consisted of men who were called together by the high priest to determine the guilt of the accused. They were in truth merely the "rubber stamps" of the high priest.)

Of the two charges which the Sanhedrin brought against

Jesus—blasphemy and Messianic pretensions—Pilate took account of the second only. Jesus was the "King-Messiah" and so, from Pilate's standpoint (since he could have no notion of the spiritual side of the Hebrews' messianic idea), he was "king of the Jews." This was treason against the Roman Emperor and the prescribed death of rebel traitors was—crucifixion.

Jesus was crucified as the "King of the Jews." The Jewish religious Sanhedrin and the Jewish people had nothing to do with the trial of Jesus. The high priest who actually delivered Jesus to the Roman authorities either was compelled to do so to save himself so as not to be accused of being an accessory to the rebels; or, most likely, Caiaphas, the high priest, played the role of a Quisling who proved ready to sell out Judea to the Romans for personal gain.

The Jewish people were crushed under Roman tyranny. The Roman authorities punished not only the individuals who incited the people against the Romans, but the leaders of the people as well. The Jewish leaders, we may say, were held as hostages for the submission of the Jewish people to the Roman state. Many Jewish leaders in such circumstances and political conditions had to act as informers against the dissenters and revolutionaries among their brethren in order to save their own lives. Some of them sold themselves entirely to the Roman authorities for their own benefit, as may have been the case of the high priest, Caiaphas.

Pontius Pilate had greatly contributed to increasing of the enmity of the Christians against their own flesh and blood. He it was who added mockery and scorn to the punishment of death; he had bound their Messiah to the cross like the most abject slave, and in derision of his assumed royalty had placed the crown of thorns on his head. The picture of Jesus nailed to the cross, crowned with thorns, the blood streaming from his wounds, was ever present to his followers, filling their hearts with bitter

thoughts of revenge. Instead of turning their wrath against cruel Rome, they made the representatives of the Judean people, and by degrees the whole nation, responsible for inhuman deeds. They either intentionally deceived themselves, or in time really forgot that Pilate was the murderer of their master, and placed the crime upon the heads of all the children of Israel.

Judean Christians

When the disciples of Jesus had somewhat recovered from the panic which came upon them at the time he was seized and executed, they reassembled to mourn together over the death of their beloved Master. "The followers of Jesus then in Jerusalem did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty, and if all who believed in him in Galilee had been numbered, they would not have exceeded five hundred." Still the effect that Jesus produced upon the unenlightened masses must have been very powerful; for their faith in him, far from fading away like a dream, became more and more intense, their adoration of Jesus rising to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The only stumbling-block to their belief lay in the fact that the Messiah who came to deliver Israel and bring to light the glory of the kingdom of heaven, endured a shameful death. How could the Messiah be subject to pain? A suffering Messiah staggered them considerably, and this stumbling-block had to be overcome before a perfect and joyful belief could be reposed in him. It was at that moment probably that some writer relieved his own perplexities and quelled their doubts by referring to a prophecy in Isaiah, that "He will be taken from the land of the living, and will be wounded for the sins of his people." Was it not written that he should be judged among the evil-doers? His disciples declared they had heard Jesus say that he would be persecuted even unto death. Thus his sufferings and death were

evident proofs that he was the Messiah. When the faithful were satisfied on that point, it was not difficult to answer the other question which naturally offered itself. When would the promised kingdom of heaven appear, since he who was to have brought it had died on the cross? Hope replied that the Messiah would return in all his glory, with the angels of heaven, and then every one would be rewarded according to his deeds. They believed that some then alive would not taste death until they had seen the Son of Man enter his kingdom. His disciples were hourly expecting the return of Jesus, and only differed from the Judeans in so far as they thought that the Messiah had already appeared in human form and character. Nothing seemed to stagger their faith in the Messianic character of Jesus; but greatly as they venerated and glorified him, they had not yet raised him above humanity; in spite of the enthusiasm with which he inspired them, they could not look upon him as God. They regarded him only as a highly gifted man who, having obeyed the Law more completely than any other human being, had been found worthy to be the Messiah of the Lord.

They deviated in no degree from the precepts of Judaism, observing the Sabbath, the rite of circumcision, and the dietary laws, whilst they also reverenced Jerusalem and the Temple as holy places. They were, however, distinguished from the other Judeans in some peculiarities besides the belief they cherished that the Messiah had already appeared. To this class belonged the early Christians, or Judean Christians, who were called Nazarenes.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Jesus was a Jew. He lived a Jewish life and died a Jew. There is no hint from the beginning to the end of his life that he intended to start a new religion. He taught and preached what he considered true Judaism; the very essence of his religion. "For I say unto you that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. 5:20). It is clear from the above statement that it did not even enter the mind of Jesus to form a new religion. Had he come with anything particularly new, anything that Judaism had not already embodied within its self, and if it had been in consonance with the spirit of Judaism, it would have been incorporated into its doctrines. For this was done by the Pharisees right along through their method of interpreting the Torah. The fact is that the teachings of Jesus did not revolutionize Judaism, that he did not bring to it anything startling, a teaching which it did not already contain. Judaism was uninfluenced by what Jesus had to say. Judaism continued after Jesus, and remained a vital force in shaping the lives of millions of human souls through the ages and to this day.

But what explanation is there for the development of a religion which is attributed to Jesus? The answer to this question lies first within the nature of Judaism, and secondly in the conditions whch prevailed outside of Palestine during the time of Jesus and especially during the time of Paul, the interpreter of Jesus.

As to the nature of Judaism, we have learned from the work of the Pharisees, that the Torah, the foundation of the Jewish religion—is an unfinished book; that it can be and needs to be interpreted so as to render its message effective for each age and each generation. Judaism, we have also learned is a composite of many ideas, ideals, doctrines and precepts, embracing every aspect of life. However, when a commandment, is separated from the body of Judaism, is over emphasized, and is regarded as the main principle of the religion, then it is not essentially Jewish. It may even be considered as un-Jewish. For example, the belief in a Messiah, or the belief in the era of Resurrection, belongs to the body of Judaism; but, if one of these is detached from the composite of Judaism and proclaimed as its paramount doctrine, then it does not essentially represent Judaism.

Judaism needs to be viewed as a whole—as a complete way of life. In his teachings, Jesus, over stressed one aspect of Judaism and made it into a central idea. His stress was on the World to Come—the next world. His main concern was not the building of God's Kingdom on earth but the Kingdom of Heaven. It is here where the main difficulty arose. This stress prepared the seed for something new. That which was needed next, was the soil—the right type of soil for the seed to grow in and this was provided for outside of Palestine. The world outside of Palestine was prepared for Jesus' teachings, and for Paul, who brought the teaching to it. Now, what were the conditions outside of Palestine—which were favorable to the teachings of Jesus?

First, since the days of the Babylonian captivity, there were numerous Israelites who lived outside of Palestine. Josephus says that "there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of us (the Jews) among them" (Jewish War 2; xvi-4; 7:iii:3). Jews were scattered and dispersed in almost the entire world which was then known to the Canaanites, the Greeks, and the Romans.

The Kings in the different countries would accord them political and religious privileges in order to win their affection. They had, in many states complete equality of rights. In many of the communities where they had settled, they enjoyed the privileges of having litigation among themselves settled in Jewish courts. They were more or less autonomous with regard to their own affairs. They had in almost every city Synagogues in which they would gather for prayer and read the Torah on the required occasions. Scholars among them would expound to them the reading of the week or deliver a sermon. The Torah was in most cases translated into the language of the land—either Aramaic or Greek.

The Jews of the Diaspora kept the Sabbath and celebrated their holidays. The majority of Jews in the Diaspora were devoted to their religion. Many of the signs of assimilationism which were present among the Diaspora Jews, such as change of names and change of languages, were only external. Many of the customs which the Jews took up in various lands, did not change radically their spirit of Judaism. There were also forms of deeper assimilation as this was bound to happen.

Some scholars hold that the Judaism of the Diaspora was much more "liberal" than the Judaism of Palestine. There were also Jews, in the Diaspora who because of the influence of Greek philosophy, or by imitation of the Gentiles among whom they lived would take a free attitude toward the ceremonial laws of Judaism. These Jews were prepared for the first compromise between Judaism and Hellenism. However, as Greek philosophy influenced Jews in the Diaspora so did Judaism influence Greek thought and belief.

Jewish and Greek literature of that period is filled with statements about proselytes from among the Gentiles. Josephus says: "The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances, and there is not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation to which

our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed" (Against Apion 2:39).

Those who accepted part of the practices of Judaism, did not become complete Jews. They were called "God fearers." Thus there were those who converted to Judaism completely and those who accepted it partially. "Many of them," says Josephus speaking of the Greeks, "have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observance" (Against Apion 2:10).

Secondly, in addition, to the influence which Judaism brought to bear on the Greek mind, many of their own teachers by virtue of their views on life indirectly prepared the Greek mind for what they were to hear from Paul in the name of Jesus. It seems that Greek philosophy at that time had much in common with the basic teachings of Jesus as it was later extended by Paul.

Let us consider a few examples of what thoughts the Greek mind was being exposed to by the Greek teachers and which prepared it for Christian belief: Poisidonius taught that the life of the soul is eternal, since it is part of the eternal life of the godhead. And that the life of this world is only a small and fragmentary part of the eternal life of the soul; thus there is no value to all the things which man needs and wants in this brief and changing life. The essential thing is moral living founded upon right conduct. For evil done to men is sin against the godhead.

Seneca emphasizes the fact that the body is the prison of the soul. Hence man must accustom himself to look upon death not as an evil and a misfortune. Death he says is a gain, since the day of death is "the birthday of the eternal." As for sin he says, "all of us have sinned," therefore we are not to repay evil with evil, but to pardon and to forget. And if the wise man receives a blow on the cheek; he will do what Cato the Roman did: "He did not flare up, he did

not avenge the wrong, he did not even forgive it, but he said that no wrong had been done. He showed finer spirit in not acknowledging it than if he had pardoned it" (On Firmness 14:3 Loeb. Class. Lib.)

Even more related to Christianity was the stoic philosopher Epictetus who concerned himself mainly with ethics. According to his teaching, God is a merciful father, who takes care of mankind. All men are equal before God Epictetus taught. "One man is not master of another. Every man has communion in the society of God." God is within you, of whom your soul is a part. It is within yourself that you bear Him, and do not perceive that you are defiling Him with impure thoughts and filthy actions" (Discourses Loeb class).

From the fifth century B.C.E. in Greece, and from the second century B.C.E. in Rome, the educated people, who were increasing in number, began to ask questions about the nature of the gods and the destiny of man. These questions undermined paganism or the pagan religion. And in this educated group, which steadily grew, Christianity, in the beginning of its growth found its first admirers.

The idea that a god can die and return to life was in existence centuries before the rise of Christianity, and was widely current in the pagan world and also at the time of the rise of Christianity. In polytheistic mythology god is sometimes a man who became god and sometimes a god who became man. The pagan religions knew not only a dying and rising god, a number of their religions promised resurrection, after a severely painful death, to the man who had attached himself to the god and had been sanctified by him.

Early pagan religion, was rationalistic faith, lacking in mysteries and was a religion of the state. In the period of the first century C.E. communal religion was losing ground. The individual was beginning to concern himself more with his individual soul. This was a transitional period. It was the rise of a new epoch in religious thought. Salvation of

the individual instead of salvation of the community was demanded by religion. The new god which the people were seeking had to be above all a redeemer—a savior. But the Graeco-Roman religion had no savior god. What the Greek and Roman world needed was Judaism's Messianic idea, and Jesus, who was believed to be the Messiah who would return to redeem. This need was soon satisfied through Paul of Tarsus, one who was familiar with Greek thought and also mastered Hebrew lore.

Of course Paul saw the teaching of Jesus in his own way as Jesus saw the teachings of Judaism in his own way. For Paul the teaching of Jesus was a new and improved kind of Judaism. In this new Judaism he saw the possibility of including Gentiles. Paul, a Jew, who lived among the Gentiles and was exceedingly sensitive to their spiritual needs and aware of their longings, came to them with an attenuated Judaism, a Judaism minus ritual, ceremonial and law. And, in place of their dying and rising gods gave them a dying and rising Messiah.

Paul's interpretation of Jesus and Judaism, to the Greek world, was "like a cold drink to a thirsty soul." It was an answer to a prayer. But Paul's teaching was not pure Judaism nor was it exactly what Jesus stood for and believed in; it was a combination of Judaism plus whatever Greek ideas he permitted to merge with Jesus' teachings. This of course was no longer Judaism. It was a new religion which was neither in line with Rabbinic thought nor exactly what Jesus preached, but something new. This new religion was named after Jesus, who was believed to be the redeemer—the Christ. Hence Christianity. Christianity is a combination of Jewish and Greek thought.

CONCLUDING WORD

How the Modern Jew Regards Jesus

Until modern times, the mention of Jesus, stirred up gruesome memories in the mind of the Jew, and not without justifiable cause. Christendom placed the crucifixion of Jesus at the door of the Jew and for some 2000 years washed the face of the earth with Jewish blood as an act of revenge. The love which Jesus preached, and which Christendom was supposed to have lived by, turned into hate, and the Jew was the target. The Jew, therefore, shrivelled and shuddered at the mention of Jesus' name.

Due to the liberal spirit which began to spread in the western world beginning with the 19th century, the situation improved. The attitude toward Jew became more tenable and more tolerant.

In this new climate, Jewish scholarship had an opportunity to review the times of Jesus, his life and his teachings, even though the material outside of the Gospels is skimpy, and the Gospels not completely reliable, since they were recorded at least a generation or two after Jesus and from memory. Be that as it may, both Jewish and Christian scholars—have done a great deal in separating fact from fiction in presenting an account of Jesus and the rise of Christianity.

"The spirit of enlightenment and sympathy," says Hyman G. Enlow, "had brought about a new era in the relation of the Jews to Jesus. On the one hand, it has caused Christian

scholars to revise somewhat the ancient conventional interpretation of the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus, particularly the much-maligned Scribes and Pharisees. On the other hand, it has made it possible for the Christian believer to listen to a Jew's appraisal of Jesus, and to treat it with respect and without fear of the Jew's eternal damnation, though it differ from his own construction."

This liberal atmosphere of the last one hundred and fifty years has contributed greatly in the creation of a healthier and happier attitude of the Jew toward Jesus as well as of Christians toward the Jew.

Jesus is regarded today by the intelligent and interested Jew, as one of the Jewish people, and, as one who was a great teacher profoundly concerned with the spiritual welfare of his people. Jews do not regard Jesus as one who renounced Judaism or as the innovator of Christianity. They view him as a devout Jew who disregarded the material life, for a life of the spirit. Jews have never rejected the ethical teachings of Jesus and consider his lessons today as some of the finest in ethical thought. What Jews do not accept however, because of their religious indoctrination from Abraham on, is the divinity of Jesus. Judaism teaches that no human being can ever attain perfection. Man is perfectible but not perfect. No teacher, no prophet, and no leader, has ever been considered divine among the Jews. The central belief in Judaism is the unity of God. God is One, and all human beings are his children and are divine in the sense that they bear His image.

It is the hope of the modern Jew, that the love which Jesus preached, and on which Christianity is predicated, will yet penetrate the Christian world and will eventually serve as a bond between Christian and Jew—who together will set their hands and hearts to the task of establishing God's Kingdom on earth.

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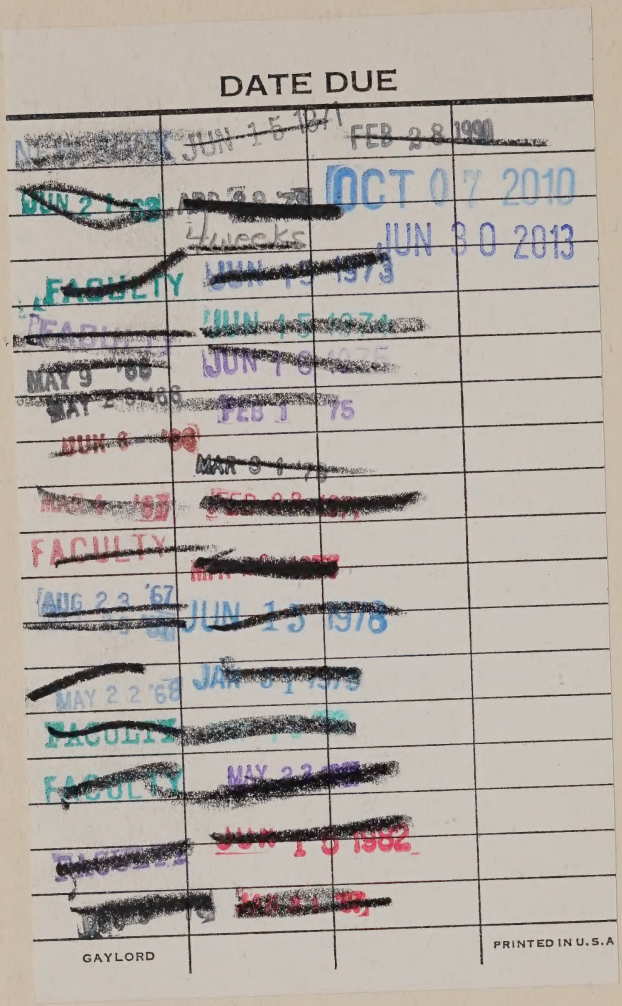
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